

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

## THE POLISH AMERICAN STRING BAND, CHAMPIONS AGAIN

HON. ROBERT A. BORSKI

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 8, 1986

Mr. BORSKI. Mr. Speaker, I rise to honor a great fraternal and musical group from my hometown, the Polish American String Band. The Polish American String Band recently earned its 10 prestigious first prize in Philadelphia's famous annual Mummers' Day Parade.

The Polish American String Band has a long tradition of excellence among Philadelphia's great Mummers bands. It was founded in 1933 by Mr. Joseph Jankowski and the Polish business community in Port Richmond. For the past 47 years, it has participated in the traditional New Year's Day Mummers' Parade, giving an opportunity for musical excellence and community involvement to hundreds of men and boys.

Participation in the Polish American String Band offers its members a chance to learn the values of teamwork and friendship. It offers them a chance to strive for success each New Year's Day. It gives them a chance to make great music while working with their friends and neighbors.

I salute the officers of the Polish American String Band, its president, Bob Dombroski, and its captain, Ray Danielewicz, and all the band members for their championship performance last New Year's Day. I would also like to honor all hard-working wives, mothers, daughters, and sisters who contribute to the band's successful efforts. And I would like to join in wishing good luck to the new officers of the band for 1986-87, including its new president, Stan Magenta, Sr.

The Polish American String Band has been winning friends and honors for its members and its community for over 50 years. I salute them for their most recent honors and I wish them many years of continued success.

## PAUL CRAIG ROBERTS ON THE DEFENSE BUDGET DEBATE

HON. JIM COURTER

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 8, 1986

Mr. COURTER. Mr. Speaker, as the following article by Paul Craig Roberts demonstrates, the current debate over the defense budget has a little something for everyone. The defense critics can lambaste the Reagan defense buildup, and the Reagan administration can point to modest progress which warrents continued robust funding.

Meanwhile, the intelligence community is reporting that Soviet defense spending is ap-

proaching 15 to 17 percent of their gross national product, dwarfing our present 6 percent GNP commitment. Even if the spending numbers are in dispute, there is no disputing the figures that show the Soviet Union outstripping United States production in every significant category of military hardware since 1974. By comparison, the defense budget debate is a mere sideshow.

The article follows:

[From Business Week, Apr. 14, 1986]

THE PENTAGON BUDGET: FACT VERSUS FICTION  
(By Paul Craig Roberts)

The Reagan Administration and its critics are at odds on many issues, but on one critical matter they agree: There has been a massive buildup in the nation's defense.

Critics on the left bemoan this buildup as a resurrection of the arms race, while the Administration claims that the buildup is forcing the Soviets back to the bargaining table for arms-reduction talks. Even the conservative chairman of the Senate Budget Committee, Pete V. Domenici (R-N.M.), believes that Reagan has achieved such a large increase in defense that it is safe to cut \$25 billion from the latest defense budget.

To an extraordinary degree, the facts are different from the perception. As the chart shows, the actual path of real defense spending under Reagan closely parallels that projected by the outgoing Carter Administration in 1981. Real defense spending bears no relationship at all to the buildup that Reagan proposed.

The level of real defense spending that the Reagan Administration had planned to reach by 1986 is not expected to be attained even by 1991. Real defense spending in 1986 is \$19.8 billion below the amount projected in Reagan's first budget and only \$2.2 billion above the projections in Carter's last budget.

Everyone exaggerates. Because the public does not accurately perceive the actual course of military spending during Reagan's Presidency, the defense budget is exposed to the peril of the Gramm-Rudman Act's deficit-reduction formula. If the latest projections of the Congressional Budget Office are based on an accurate assessment of attitudes in Congress, the increase in real defense spending is over. The CBO projects no rise in real defense spending from 1986 to 1991 and shows the defense budget declining as a share of GNP from 6.4% in 1986 to 5.7% in 1991, the same share as in 1975.

Fiction often prevails over fact because of the partisan nature of political competition. First of all, an Administration and its supporters naturally seek to exaggerate its success in accomplishing its goals and to minimize the failures. When faced with a setback, they show a strong tendency to declare victory. At the same time, an Administration's opponents, who are attacking these goals, also exaggerate the degree to which they have been achieved. In this way, both the Administration and its critics scaled down what was to be a major military buildup into little more than a modest improvement in our defense posture—without pro-

ducing any change in the public's perception of what was happening to defense spending.

Absorbed, as they must be, in public relations and political maneuvering, the participants in the Washington power game often lose sight of the real issues. If this modest military buildup becomes a casualty of hyperbole and misperception and as a consequence is further cut back, the U.S. is likely to remain the world's second most powerful nation. If Ronald Reagan, with his electoral victories, cannot succeed with a military buildup, no one is likely to succeed. The Soviet Union is not blind to the implications. The prospect of being the dominant power in the international arena is scarcely an incentive for the Soviets to restrain their own ongoing military buildup.

It is dangerous for the Reagan Administration and its critics to project the image of a buildup that is greater than its substance. On the one hand, it misleads the American public and U.S. allies about our relative strength. On the other hand, it tells the Soviet government that in this country the political stake in maintaining a pretense is so great that illusion crowds out reality. The sputtering Reagan defense buildup indicates that the U.S. does not perceive the increase in Soviet defense efforts as threatening. As Defense Secretary Caspar W. Weinberger said last year, if this perception proves wrong: "History will not give us a second chance."

CONGRESSIONAL SALUTE TO  
THE HONORABLE PETER  
KALFE OF PASSAIC, NJ, IMMEDIATE PAST COMMANDER,  
ROSOL-DUL MEMORIAL POST  
NO. 359 AMERICAN LEGION

HON. ROBERT A. ROE

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 8, 1986

Mr. ROE. Mr. Speaker, on Saturday, April 12 residents of the city of Passaic, my congressional district and State of New Jersey will gather together at the annual past commanders dinner of Rosol-Dul Memorial Post No. 359 of the American Legion, a gala anniversary celebration of the veterans of our community in testimony to the outstanding endeavors of their leadership in veterans affairs—always giving willingly and unselfishly of their time in seeking justice and equity for all of our people. This year's featured honored guest is the immediate past commander—the Honorable Peter Kalfe of Passaic, NJ—whose standards of excellence as the chief executive officer of Rosol-Dul Memorial Post No. 359 during 1984-85 has served to carry on the sterling traditions and purpose of this highly esteemed veterans organization with quality leadership and sincerity of purpose which has

● This "bullet" symbol identifies statements or insertions which are not spoken by a Member of the Senate on the floor.  
Matter set in this typeface indicates words inserted or appended, rather than spoken, by a Member of the House on the floor.

truly enriched our community, State, and Nation.

Mr. Speaker, I know that you and our colleagues here in the Congress will want to join with me in extending our heartiest congratulations and best of wishes to Peter Kalfe and share the pride of his wife Natalie; their children: Carol, John, Mark Lynd, and Maryann Coral; and granddaughter, Michele on this milestone of achievement in their family endeavors.

Mr. Speaker, the Rosol-Dul Memorial Post No. 359, which was organized in the fall of 1945, is one of our Nation's most prestigious affiliates of the American Legion. We are all familiar with the noble goals and objectives of the 2.6 million-member organization of the American Legion. These military service veterans, working through 16,000 community level posts, dedicate themselves to God and country and traditional American values; a strong national security; adequate and compassionate care for veterans, their widows and orphans; community service; and the wholesome development of our Nation's youth. Peter Kalfe has, by his example and lifetime of dedication to these same true American ideals, personified exemplary leadership in his responsible service to our people.

Mr. Speaker, Pete was raised in Passaic, NJ and attended local schools in Passaic. He served our people and our Nation with distinction during World War II as a gunner in the Navy with the armed guard in the South Pacific from 1944 to 1946.

In his career pursuits he has served our community, State and Nation as a distinguished public safety officer. He is a detective with the Passaic Police Force and has just announced his retirement from the department where he has served for the past 35 years.

Throughout his lifetime Detective Kalfe has forged ahead with dedication, devotion, and sincerity of purpose in combating crime and protecting the life of our people. We applaud his knowledge, training, hard work, and personal commitment that has enabled him to achieve the fullest confidence and strongest support of the people of our community. He has always applied the most sophisticated and advanced techniques of his profession. During the past three and a half decades he has received many citations for his meritorious service as a law enforcement officer and we are especially proud of his most recent highly coveted award—the "Cop of the Year" which he received from the Passaic Optimists.

Mr. Speaker, Pete Kalfe has been a member of Rosol-Dul Memorial Post No. 359 for the past 18 years and has served on various committees before attaining the high office of public trust as commander of this esteemed veterans organization. At this point in our historic journal of Congress may I commend Peter Kalfe to you along with all of the past commanders of Rosol-Dul Memorial Post No. 359 who throughout the past 41 years have served their membership and the people of our community with their leadership endeavors in veterans affairs, as follows:

*Rosol-Dul Memorial Post No. 359 American Legion Passaic, NJ past commanders*

The Honorable:  
Benjamin Kwiatkowski ..... 1946-47  
Emil Olszowy<sup>1</sup> ..... 1947-48

Stanley Blazowski .....	1948-49
Fabian Izsa, Jr. ....	1949-50
Joseph P. Lazur .....	1950-51
Stanley Benedict .....	1951-52
Edward Serafin .....	1952-53
Thaddeus Tecza .....	1953-54
Frank Duplak .....	1954-55
Edward Lazur .....	1955-56
William Gonsisko .....	1956-57
Andrew Tyllawsky .....	1957-58
Bruno Czerniak <sup>1</sup> .....	1958-59
Stanley Pych .....	1959-60
Stanley Tomczyk <sup>1</sup> .....	1960-61
Bruno R. Stolarz <sup>1</sup> .....	1961-62
Alexander Bednarz <sup>1</sup> .....	1962-63
John Yaroslowski .....	1963-64
William Fitzgerald .....	1964-65
Stanley Madey .....	1965-66
John Galka <sup>1</sup> .....	1966-67
Walter Chmielowiec <sup>1</sup> .....	1967-68
Henry Lesnick <sup>1</sup> .....	1968-69
Edward F. Sadlowski <sup>1</sup> .....	1969-72
John Yaroslowski .....	1972-73
Edward Byra .....	1973-74
Edward Wiczerzak <sup>1</sup> .....	1975
Stanley Turecki .....	1975-76
Michael Pohrschak .....	1976-77
Joseph Ruda .....	1977-78
Anthony Nead .....	1978-79
Martin J. Fucio .....	1979-80
Martin Kobylarz .....	1980-81
Stanley Procko .....	1981-82
Joseph Szewczyk .....	1982-83
Fred Gnapinski .....	1983-84
Peter Kalfe .....	1984-85
<sup>1</sup> Deceased.	

Mr. Speaker, it is indeed appropriate that we reflect on the deeds and achievements of our people who have contributed to the quality of our way of life here in America and I am pleased to call your attention to Pete's lifetime of outstanding public service. We do indeed salute a most distinguished public safety officer, good friend, and great American—the immediate past commander of Rosol-Dul Memorial Post No. 359 of the American Legion—the Honorable Peter Kalfe of Passaic, NJ.

#### PROPOSED TVA CHANGES WOULD IMPROVE EMPLOYEE MORALE AND EFFICIENCY

**HON. RONNIE G. FLIPPO**

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 8, 1986

Mr. FLIPPO. Mr. Speaker, previously, I have discussed some of the problems at the Tennessee Valley Authority and a proposed change in the management structure of the agency. The proposal also includes changes designed to improve TVA employee morale and efficiency which I want to discuss.

#### COMPENSATION AND EMPLOYEE POLICIES

Compensation of a job may include regular salary or wages, other monetary remuneration, such as bonuses and awards; psychic satisfaction for a job well done, peer approval and admiration; and perquisites such as office size, furnishings, dining rooms, automobiles, parking spaces, insurance, and other advantages not available to most other employees.

Traditionally, the TVA has eschewed individual employee bonuses, perquisites, and recognition in favor of recognition of team effort and the psychic rewards of completion of

worthwhile projects which had a high approval factor within the community.

However, as TVA began to move technically into the nuclear age, some of the traditions began to present problems. Management policies which had worked well under a different set of circumstances began to become problems for the TVA and thus for the people of the region who pay TVA's bills.

For example, TVA's management adopted a policy that limited candidates for reactor operator or senior reactor operator to non-degreed persons. Another policy excluded nuclear onsite engineers from consideration as reactor operators or senior reactor operators.

As the program developed, the need for nuclear management people at higher levels grew. Yet the people in TVA's management tract had not necessarily had in-depth nuclear experience, especially at the operating level. Partially as a result of TVA's management policies which failed to put in place an effective management training program to develop an adequate number of nuclear managers, problems began to surface for the agency. The Nuclear Regulatory Commission criticized TVA for promoting people to middle- and upper-level management positions in the nuclear program without regard for the nuclear experience of these people. In July 1985, before the nuclear shutdown, NRC cited TVA for a total of 10 management policies, primarily relating to personnel, as possible factors in TVA's nuclear difficulties.

Earlier, in response to this developing personnel problem, TVA management attempted to alter compensation practices at the agency. These efforts were poorly developed from the standpoint of justification in face of tradition and statutory restraint. The attempts met with loud and widespread opposition from some employees and many ratepayers.

As with any organization, TVA employees are the agency's greatest asset. Without the dedication, hard work, understanding, and support of the employees, any organization can fail. In a highly technical operation with safety concerns, such as the nuclear program, the prospect for failure is magnified without full and ardent employee support.

The legislation allows the new board to take a fresh look at the entire matter of employee relations, compensation policies, and similar issues which bear on the success of the corporation. If found appropriate after public hearings and review, the legislation also allows the new board to establish a fund each year to recognize unusually meritorious acts which benefit the corporation. This program might be patterned after other Federal employee reward programs.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> At least two different types of Federal award programs are in place. Under the Incentive Awards Program, an employee (or group) who proposes a suggestion, develops an invention, or makes a contribution beyond the scope of the job, may receive up to \$25,000. Top managers, in the Senior Executive Service, are eligible for lump sum payments for performance up to 20 percent of basic pay. Additional awards in the SES are limited to 5 percent of executives designated as meritorious (\$10,000 lump sum payment) and to 1 percent designated as distinguished (\$20,000 lump sum payment).



In addition, the board each year would have authority to authorize retention or recruitment supplements for positions where the pay was found to be higher in other Government positions, such as in the Senior Executive positions, and in certain other engineering, medical or technical positions or in cases where no similar positions are found within the Federal Government.

The payment to an employee during any fiscal year for wages, salary, supplements, bonuses, or other compensation could not exceed the rate payable for level I of the Executive Schedule (currently \$86,200). The payment for basic wages or salary could not exceed level V (currently \$68,700).

#### COST FACTORS INVOLVED IN IMPROVED POLICY AND MANAGEMENT PROPOSALS

The objective of the restructuring is to provide the TVA and its customers with a management mechanism to enable the agency to be more efficient, responsive, and accountable. An improved management system, even if the managers are better rewarded, should produce savings through more efficient operations.

The legislation recognizes that an outstanding CEO for an organization such as TVA can earn and should be paid more than current Federal salary ceilings. The legislation relies on the good judgment of board members living among the ratepayers to take into account reasonable performance objectives, regional variations, and the public nature of TVA in establishing the compensation package for such a person.<sup>2</sup>

The costs of the changes in the board itself are more easily identified. The salaries of the three-person full-time board total \$218,200 a year at present. Travel and staff support costs are in addition.

After the initial organizational phase, a restructured TVA board would probably average 30 or 40 meeting days per year. During years when members averaged 40 meeting days each, the compensation for the restructured board would be a total of \$167,859.

If the restructured eight-person part-time board required use of all authorized meeting days, the total compensation would be \$212,200 a year. If only 50 percent of the authorized days were required, the total compensation would be \$146,000.

Variables such as distance from meeting places and number of days of meeting would influence the travel cost. To the extent that the board functions are policy-oriented rather than for day-to-day management, total staff support attributable to the board should be less than presently expended.

Current board staff cost attributable to day-to-day management and operations would be attributed to the CEO under the proposed arrangements.

From the standpoint of the individual board members, the annual stipend provided by the

legislation (\$10,000) is somewhat less than the stipend for similar business corporation. Korn/Ferry indicates the average annual fee for the 1,000 largest U.S. corporations was \$11,700 per director in 1983.

Because of the public service nature of the TVA, it seems inappropriate to provide complete parity with stipends provided to those serving on boards of private business corporations.

The directors' fees for each day of actual meetings would be at the daily rate for level V of the Executive Schedule (currently about \$264 per day). This compares to the average per meeting fee provided by business corporations of \$717 in 1983.<sup>3</sup> The average total compensation for directors of business corporations in 1983 was \$18,090. This average is a reflection of the relatively few days the boards of established corporations meet annually.

Travel expenses would be reimbursed as they are for other Government employees.

#### THE TVA INSPECTOR GENERAL BACKGROUND

Several Members from the TVA region have introduced legislation (H.R. 3464, 99th Congress) to bring the TVA under the provisions of the Inspector General Act of 1978, with a statutory IG appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate. The bill would also vest the TVA's IG with certain electric rate review jurisdiction.

Democrat JACK BROOKS has introduced legislation (H.R. 3077, 99th Congress) to provide all Federal entities, such as TVA, with a single, consolidated internal audit unit and audit unit director with the powers and authority of the statutory IG's designated for certain departments. H.R. 3077 audit unit directors would be appointed by the agency head and would not require Senate confirmation.

The TVA board hired, in late January 1986, a person designated as inspector general of TVA. Whether all the internal audit functions will be effectively transferred to this new office remains to be seen. In any event, the TVA-designated IG is unlikely to be able to function as a statutory IG because TVA lacks the ability to confer on the office all of the authority and jurisdiction provided by the Inspector General Act of 1978 and its amendments.

H.R. 3464 for a TVA inspector general was based on the TVA management structure as it exists; that is, the board is responsible for establishing policy and then dons another hat to attempt to manage the agency. The present situation, with the board appointing the IG, has been compared to having the board investigate itself to see how well the board is carrying out its policies and the laws and regulations the board is attempting to administer. Should the board err in either of its functional roles, the appeal is to the board.

A completely different set of circumstances would prevail under the TVA board restructuring proposal. Under the proposal, the board's function is to establish policy, monitor the administration and execution of the policy, and regulate electric rates. The management, administration, and execution of the policy is the

responsibility of the chief executive officer and the professionals employed to assist the CEO.

Under the proposed new structure, it seems appropriate to have the inspector general as an arm of the board because the monitoring and review responsibilities of the board would be separated from the operational responsibilities which are vested in the chief executive officer.

Thus, the new board proposal calls for the IG to be appointed by the restructured board.

#### IMPROVED IG FUNCTION

This section of the bill would establish an office of the inspector general in the TVA. Additionally, it would strengthen audit and investigative activities in TVA by requiring that existing audit and investigative offices be consolidated. The IG would report directly to the board and be given the same duties and authorities as statutorily established inspectors general.

Nobody likes to have their actions reviewed. The need for offices of inspector general, however, is well established, and Congress has created statutory IG's in 17 departments and agencies. Statutory offices of inspector general have proven highly successful. Over the last 2½ years, their work has resulted in about \$15 billion annually in monetary benefits to the government, including recoveries from investigative activities and savings resulting from management improvements.

By providing, through this legislation, the TVA's IG with the authority granted to Presidentially appointed, statutory IG's, the role of the TVA's IG function will be enhanced and strengthened. By assuring that various audit and investigative functions are placed under the TVA's IG, coordination and efficiency in the discharge of the IG function are more likely. Should the TVA board remove the IG, such action would have to be reported to the Congress.

The earlier legislation, H.R. 3464, also provided the proposed TVA IG with certain rate review responsibilities. By restructuring the board's responsibilities, as the new legislation does, by giving the board monitoring, review and oversight duties divorced from responsibilities for day-to-day operations, the board itself should be independent enough to give more confidence to the rate review function.

#### STATEMENT OF HON. HELEN DELICH BENTLEY ON LAUNCHING OF THE "FORT McHENRY"

#### HON. MARCY KAPTUR

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 8, 1986

Ms. KAPTUR. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to recommend to our colleagues, a statement made recently by our esteemed colleague from Maryland, HELEN BENTLEY, on the occasion of the launching of the *Fort McHenry*. Her's is an intelligent and thought-provoking piece on the state of our defense industrial base.

<sup>2</sup> Although the TVA lacks some of the criteria frequently used in establishing compensation packages for CEO's in private corporations (earnings per share, return on assets, return on equity, market penetration, or such factors), TVA should have other annual and long-term management objectives which could be used as a basis for evaluating a CEO's performance and eligibility for a particular level of bonus payment.

<sup>3</sup> Data for director compensation such as that presented by Korn/Ferry may reflect the large number of major corporations clustered in the high-cost major metropolitan areas of the country.

STATEMENT OF HON. HELEN DELICH BENTLEY  
ON THE LAUNCHING OF THE "FORT MCHENRY"

The launching of a ship is a happy event for all concerned . . . a happy event as are all births, a time of excitement and hope! In ancient times, a new vessel was christened by a sacrifice to the Gods . . . human or animal . . . a blessing against the rigors and dangers of life at sea.

To all nations throughout history, the ability to travel in search of trade has been the hope for the future of their people. And, in times of threat to that future, hope lay in the ability to withstand invasion from those who would pillage and destroy. History, joined with necessity, has built the great Naval and Merchant fleets of the world.

This morning we are privileged to be invited to participate in this historic panorama celebrated by the Psalmist;

"They that go down to the sea in ships;  
That do business in great waters; These see  
the works of the Lord, and His wonders  
in the deep."

As a Marylander, I am so especially proud to be asked here to christen the USS Fort McHenry. The defeat of the British at Fort McHenry in Baltimore Harbor during September, 1814, signaled the end of the War of 1812 and forever ended any threat of future English intervention in the affairs of our young country.

It was that battle which inspired Francis Scott Key to compose the Star Spangled Banner. Many people are unaware that Key was aboard one of the British ships during the battle. He had been sent as an emissary from the government seeking the freedom of an American doctor who had been captured and taken hostage on board one of the British frigates.

Not only did Maryland give the nation its National Anthem at Fort McHenry, we gave the country a major victory. The men who fought at Fort McHenry and North Point were members of the Maryland Militia, not federal government troops. They were provisioned and supported by the citizens of Baltimore.

Are we scrappy in Maryland? You bet we are! In the 1812 War, our ships' captains were so good at capturing British ships that the London Press called Baltimore a "nest of pirates."

Isn't it fitting that the USS Fort McHenry is an LSD—Whidbey Island Class? A scrappy ship used as a durable dock? A ship which can be loaded at sea and carry virtually any type of cargo, including troops?

The LSD has a valiant history which started in World War II. And to many of my generation, the "landing barge," as it was known then, calls to mind picture after picture of helmeted, young Americans pouring onto beaches of the world. From Iwo Jima and Tarawa to Normandy, the LSD was the symbol of the power of the United States moving onto the islands of the Pacific and the continent of Europe of bringing freedom, once again, to those beleaguered nations.

Forty years later, those countries still look to us to be the leaders of the free world. The young men who disembarked in those far off lands came home many years ago—their jobs well done. Now, it is their sons and grandsons who will be loading this ship—who may well be landed off this ship on distant shore.

The world has changed a great deal in forty years, but America still assumes the responsibility for defending freedom where it is threatened, where it needs our support.

Because I believe this so strongly, I have been a major supporter of the President's effort to restore the Defense budget after the deep cuts of the Carter years. It is critical that we always be ready in a world where the Russians view civil unrest in a foreign nation as an opportunity to extend Soviet ideology and interests far beyond the territory of continental Russia.

In truth, since the all out Defense efforts of the 1940's, we have not been able to disarm. The Second World War went from hot to cold. Our Defense appropriations ebbed and waned as did the support of the American taxpayer for an unseen war being waged for minds and hearts . . . for territory, half the world away.

But the Russian commitment to domination of the West has not waned one whit. Forty years later, Russian civilians are still suffering shortages of housing and consumer goods in order to feed the Soviet military machine. The Russians see many guns on May Day, but they rarely see butter on their tables.

We have been blessed over these years, as the leading industrialized nation of the world, to be able to have produced both. Though the price for Defense has been heavy—the expansion and diversity of the American economy since the 1940's has generated tax revenues to accommodate not only the needs of both our civilian and military sectors—but, we have also assumed the larger share of the Defense costs for the rest of the free world.

We may be fast approaching the end of the era—Pax Americana. Basic changes in the economic structure of the country over the last decade are bound to impact on our Defense posture—in several areas—in a very few years.

To illustrate the depth of this change in our nation's economic fabric, I will recall to you what manufacturing in this country meant—a few short years ago.

I grew up in the mining country of Nevada—my father was a copper miner. The American West was a place of coal and copper mines, iron and silver and gold mines. The Northwest cut timber. Texas was wild-cat oil wells and the gas industry was digging lines to the East. The South and North Central States and New England were busy manufacturing centers producing products for the American market and the world.

Everywhere the railroad went taking these raw resources to smelters and furnaces. The ports and the rivers were filled with traffic moving to and from refineries . . . always moving the energy to the source of the finishing process of the raw material.

Raw material in, finished product out. Trains and trucks, boats and barges picked up iron and steel, sheets of tin and copper and moved them on to manufacturing plants where machine tools made better machine tools and they in turn were shipped out to make nuts and bolts, rivets, ball bearings—hundreds of thousands of parts and pieces of parts—which in turn became other manufactured goods—then needing to be packaged and shipped—and, at the end, the wholesalers and retailers took over.

On every level of this production, energy was used, jobs created, value added at each step and always—always—remember—tax revenues were paid to every level of government.

To service this manufacturing base—several tiers deep—a service industry developed. Banks, insurance companies, restaurants, motels: McDonald's grew apace with the

tourist industry which grew in proportion to the expanding affluence of well paid, well trained workers.

This total picture has been changed!

A great part of that manufacturing base has been lost. Because of the high levels of imports of all products, demand for raw materials and onshore energy has gone down as the plants have shut their doors. Every industry involved in the handling of raw material to finished product has been severely impacted and we are left with an increase in GNP barely above two percent—half of that accounted for by Defense expenditures.

Oil refineries are closed—cheaper to buy refined oil abroad and ship it; 8 out of 10 nuts, bolts and large screws are imported as are 60% of all N/C turning Machine Tools. 80% of all strategic ball bearings under 30 millimeters come from abroad. Steel import penetration reached 30% in one month of 1985, and every month—on average—25,000 jobs are lost in manufacturing jobs in America.

We are being asked to accept the proposition that only one sector of that widely diversified economy of the last forty years will support America into the year two thousand. Services.

I strongly disagree.

Defense is much more than capital ships of the Navy! Missiles which can be launched once . . . at great expense . . . never to be recovered! State-of-the-art High Technology weapons which freeze up when their computers are exposed to blowing sand or intense jungle humidity.

Defense demands an industrial base—on shore—to build the weapons, to repair the weapons, to ship the weapons out!

Defense demands clothing—uniforms and boots for the men and women who fight—vehicles—trucks, tanks, ambulances, weapons carriers, radios, watches, televisions, computers, typewriters, binoculars. Every article demanded by the civilian sector with a vengeance.

"Fortress America" which must go seven thousand miles away for ball bearings and fasteners, radios and watches and a myriad of other parts needed for an active war machine . . . has already been breached.

The rising demand for strategic Defense imports comes at the same time that our Merchant Marine has reached a historic low point. U.S. Navy ships . . . for the first time in the history of the country . . . outnumber merchant ships.

It is not outrageous to suggest that the Merchant Marine Act of 1936—which provided for the rebuilding of our Merchant fleet—was one of two major factors in winning the Second World War.

The other factor was our industrial base and the wealth of natural raw materials which fed it. The Great Depression had left us with idle manufacturing lines and many operations were being run on one shift, but production machinery had not been sold off abroad, mines flooded.

Machine tools are so important to a war effort that D-Day was put off for one whole year because of the shortage of machine tools in 1941. All those lives lost not for lack of weapons, but for the lack of machining centers to make the weapons.

Behind every battalion in the field stands a phalanx of machinists and tool and die makers, pattern makers and welders.

The average age of a machinist in this country—two years ago—was 59 years of age. It takes 8 years to fully train a machinist!



We are at a grave time in the history of this nation. We are making decisions not just for this year, but for the next century. We are charged with taking a course which will effect not only Defense, not only our position as the Leader of the free world, but—we are charged to cast a mold which will determine the political and social future of the year two thousand.

I reject the notion that we will be servants to the rest of the world. I reject the theory that we will import raw materials and all the finished products that a consumer-Defense society needs. I dispute the idea that a nation dependent upon the rest of the world for what it needs can be a leader or in the end, even remain "independent" as our Constitution says we must!

We have proved over two hundred years that we are the greatest, most compassionate nation the world has ever known. Were it not so, Japan and Europe would not be competing with us today. We rebuilt them with our nation's money—not as Conquerors, but as an enlightened country—never turning our face away from suffering.

Now—it must be our turn! It is time that we look to our own needs as a nation, to the good of our own people. I will sponsor, this year, legislation calling for a "Marshall Plan for America."

The empty factories and the men and women without jobs are no longer abroad... in the ruins of the Second World War... Today, they are here... in America! Too many of our steel mills stand empty. Too many machine shops are in ruin... their machinery long ago sold off to Singapore, to South Korea. The desolation is here. And, we are much the poorer for it.

I want to put the "Chrysler bail-out" program in place once again to re-industrialize America. Our companies have starved for long term, low interest capital and they need time to recover the awful effects of the high dollar.

Right now... today... we are producing steel more cheaply, and more competitively... per ton... than any country in the world. However, when American steel enters the world market, the high dollar clobbers it and it must compete with foreign steel whose losses, many times, are under-written through government subsidization. The steel industry... all of our industries... need time to ride out the fall of the dollar. We must also find some formula which will compensate our companies for the competitive edge which government subsidization gives foreign products.

The President's Voluntary Restraint Agreement with the European Community of steel producers started October 1, 1985... and still, many countries have not signed on. The clock on the five year agreement is running, and they will not sit down with us to negotiate. All the while European exports of steel have been as high as 30% of the American market—the Restraint Agreement calls for 18.5%.

I have asked the Congressional Steel Caucus to urge that the clock be stopped. The five year period should begin to count when ALL Countries have signed aboard. The nonconforming countries should not be given a shorter overall period of time in which to control their shipments.

I think we have to get after these people. If, in Defense, America must always be ready, so must we also be ready to defend our vital industrial base! For a year now, I have been pushing DOD and AID to ship American-flag bottoms on foreign purchases

... conforming to the law. The shock, to me, is that I have to push. That the issue would even be moot.

To be a leader means many things. Primary in the world today... it means to protect freedom. To do that, we must be strong in all ways. We must not forget that without domestic industry, there can be no weapons. That in previous wars this has been our major strength, our major contribution to our allies.

We must secure this promise, not only for them, but for our future independence and safety.

We stand here today in debt to the generations of brave Americans who did not come back from places like Iwo Jima, who did not survive the battle of Fort McHenry. We also owe it to their memory to fight for the return of America's strength.

As I christen this ship, please join me in committing your energies to the continuing fight for a stronger America!

#### OSCAR J. KUNKLE, WINNER OF THE SPIRIT OF PHILADELPHIA AWARD

#### HON. ROBERT A. BORSKI

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 8, 1986

Mr. BORSKI. Mr. Speaker, I rise to recognize Mr. Oscar J. Kunkle, recipient of the Spirit of Philadelphia Award for his 43 years of service in the Burholme First Aid Corps. Through all these years of volunteer work and leadership, Mr. Kunkle has demonstrated the highest dedication to the ideal of community service.

Mr. Kunkle joined the Burholme First Aid Corps in 1943 and has served continuously since. He has been a State-certified emergency medical technician and served as a dispatcher and ambulance attendant. For the past 12 years he has been president of the corps. Even now, at age 74, he still drives an ambulance every week and works as a dispatcher.

It is important to realize that Mr. Kunkle has contributed over 40 years of work as a volunteer. He has never received any compensation for his contributions to the ambulance corps, but has simply done it to help serve his community.

The Spirit of Philadelphia Award is given by WCAU TV, channel 10, to honor just such people. It exists to recognize the people who help keep our community going, who freely give of themselves and their time to help their neighbors. WCAU has chosen a particularly fitting recipient of its honor in Mr. Kunkle.

I join channel 10 and the members and supporters of the Burholme First Aid Corps in saluting Oscar Kunkle for his many years of dedicated work in behalf of his neighbors and his community. Both he and the first aid corps deserve our respect, admiration and support for all their work.

#### READER'S DIGEST ON SOVIET SPECIAL FORCES

#### HON. JIM COURTER

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 8, 1986

Mr. COURTER. Mr. Speaker, most of my colleagues are probably unaware that the first Pershing II missile deployed in Europe was not part of NATO forces. In fact, a model of the Pershing II was deployed prior to 1983 at a Soviet special forces training base. As the following article from Reader's Digest explains, the Soviet Spetsnaz, special purpose forces have detailed plans for disrupting vital NATO military plans and destroying key military installations—including Pershing II and GLCM bases—during time of crisis. Perhaps most chilling is the revelation that senior U.S. and NATO military authorities are marked for assassination, to prevent the granting of permission for nuclear weapons release.

Soviet special forces have been instrumental in some of the most successful and brutal Soviet military operations in recent years. Czechoslovakia in 1968; Afghanistan in 1979; Sweden in 1984—all bear the unmistakable fingerprints of the shadowy Spetsnaz. And, as a recent magazine article indicates, they are busy planning the next operation, perhaps using female commandos against United States military bases in Britain. I commend the Reader's Digest article to your careful attention.

The article follows:

[From Reader's Digest, Apr. 1986]

#### SPETSNAZ: THE SOVIETS' SINISTER STRIKE FORCE

(For some years, Western intelligence agencies have been piecing together evidence of a clandestine Soviet military force, a large, covert army, brutally trained and poised to spearhead an invasion of Western Europe—or beyond. Here, in a comprehensive report, are the shocking facts compiled for Reader's Digest by syndicated columnist Dale Van Atta.)

*A military bus pulls up to a U.S. Army training center in West Germany. Assuming it is filled with GIs coming back from town, sentries approach the bus routinely, only to be cut down by bursts of fire from weapons with silencers. The bus roars into the base as the two commando teams on board don gas masks.*

*Inside the facility, Americans, whose duty is to guard Pershing II nuclear-missile launchers, die within minutes beneath an invisible blanket of nerve gas, and the launchers are rendered useless.*

*A second Pershing base in Heilbronn falls in similar fashion. At the same time, five key NATO communications facilities—in Maastricht, the Netherlands, and in the German towns of Boerfink, Kindsbach, Massweiler and Vogelweh—are knocked out. Confusion reigns at the NATO high command in Brussels. Top officers and political leaders are missing. Some are found dead in their homes.*

*Meanwhile, frogmen emerge from the chilly waters near Keflavik, Iceland, a vital link in NATO's antisubmarine operations. Using equipment deposited on the sea beds months earlier, they immobilize reconnaissance and communications facilities.*

No allied—or even neutral—country is immune. In Stockholm, Sweden, a machine-gun battle near the palace ends with the abduction of the royal family by frogmen, who had lain in wait until signaled by agents in the capital.

The best Soviet commandos, with the help of long-established covert agents, have suddenly brought the NATO alliance to an excruciating crisis. With its tactical nuclear capability, its communications and its leadership crippled in one stroke, what will the West do to prevent a Soviet invasion of Western Europe.

Although these events are hypothetical, planning for them is real. Gen. Pyotr Ivanovich Ivashutin, the balding, bull-necked commander of Glavnoye Razvedyvatelnoye Upravleniye (GRU), the intelligence arm of the Soviet military, has at his disposal a force of 30,000 men and women trained to carry out these tasks.

Western intelligence services have been slow to learn of the existence and makeup of these commando groups, which already credited with such operations as the 1979 assassination of the president of Afghanistan and the suppression of anti-Soviet activities in Bulgaria in the mid-1960s. But now their threat is known, as is the group's real name: Spetsnaz, from *spetsialnaya nakhleniya*, meaning special-purpose forces.

"The development of Spetsnaz is a particularly menacing aspect of the growth of Soviet military power," says U.S. Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense Noel Koch. "Their job is to destroy a nation's infrastructure and kill people. They are an integral part of Soviet peacetime operations, and in wartime could pose a grave threat of strategic disruption in the NATO area—and in the United States itself."

#### SCOUTING FOR SABOTAGE

A typical Spetsnaz unit has a senior and a junior officer, a communications man, a medic, and at least two demolition and four reconnaissance specialists. Commonly used equipment includes surface-to-air missiles, "burst" communications transmitters (which send a short "squirt" of encrypted signals by satellite back to headquarters), and a list of targets, which may be attacked or merely watched. A Spetsnaz brigade, made up of 100 of these teams, includes ten career-officer units, the elite of the elite, whose primary mission is assassination of enemy leaders. Altogether, U.S. intelligence reckons that Spetsnaz's total wartime strength includes 20 brigades, each with 900 to 1200 men, plus at least four naval brigades.

Selection to a Spetsnaz unit is a high honor. "Only recruits who pass rigorous tests are accepted," says a GRU defector who lives in England under the pseudonym Viktor Suvorov. He maintains (and intelligence sources concur) that many of the Soviet Union's best athletes, particularly members of its Olympic team, are Spetsnaz commandos. International sporting events give them the double advantage of honing skills in marksmanship, skiing and swimming, while familiarizing themselves with the countries to which they might return someday as saboteurs.

Spetsnaz officers and men enjoy higher pay, better food, longer leaves, quicker promotion and earlier retirement than regular army personnel do. But they earn their perks. In survival exercise they are dropped over wilderness areas and then required to spend days or weeks on their own—without sleeping bags.

But on a typical mission, each Spetsnaz member carries the Kalashnikov light automatic rifle with 300 rounds of ammunition and a bayonet that doubles as a saw and wire cutter, a P6 pistol with silencer, six hand grenades or a hand-grenade launcher, and a James Bondish knife that, at the touch of a button silently propels a lethal blade a full 30 feet.

Sheer brutality marks Spetsnaz methods. One of their main training centers—at Zhetysay Vody in the Ukraine—is close to concentration camps. According to Suvorov, gulag inmates are used in hand-to-hand combat training, allowing Spetsnaz troops to punch, gouge, kick and maim at will. "It's much more realistic than sticking a knife in a sack of sand," he says.

#### INFILTRATE, ASSASSINATE

Intelligence reports on a secret Spetsnaz training base west of the Urals prove that they train against U.S. and NATO targets. There are fullsize mockups of civilian airliners (for hijack training), American and French jet fighters, nuclear-missile launchers, Pershing and ground-launched cruise missiles. Ironically, the first Pershing II "missile" deployed in Europe was not in West Germany in 1983, but at an earlier date in the Soviet Union as a model at the training center.

In an actual conflict, Spetsnaz teams would infiltrate Western Europe and the United States during a period of international tension—but before the U.S.S.R. declared war. Besides clandestine airdrops, frogmen and mini-sub landings, there would be a higher-than-normal number of sports and cultural delegations entering the targeted countries.

The staffs of Soviet embassies and consulates would be augmented by unusually fit young men and women acting as guards, chauffeurs and gardeners. These teams would activate networks of "sleeper" agents, who already live near bases, arsenals and communications centers. They keep watch, provide information and maintain safe houses where Spetsnaz teams could hide.

In the event of a sneak attack, the teams would target or attack nuclear-weapons facilities; destroy command-control systems and neutralize military bases; disrupt public-power and broadcasting stations; and assassinate political and military leaders.

Assassination is key to Soviet blitzkrieg planning. Since NATO's nuclear weapons can be unleashed only by political leaders, eliminating them would delay the decision to retaliate with nuclear arms. C.N. Donnelly, head of the Soviet Studies Research Centre at Britain's Royal Military Academy, says, "It is the total political collapse of key NATO governments that the U.S.S.R. must seek to accomplish in as short a time as possible."

This audacious strategy takes advantage of NATO's unwieldy structure. Alliance procedures require consultation among its 16 member countries in the event of hostilities, and it takes a few days to mobilize NATO's forward defense. Trucks have to line up at storage sites in Western Europe, for example, to load nuclear warheads, then take them to their units along public roads, making ideal targets for Spetsnaz ambush teams. As Britain's Military Defence warned in 1984, "the main threat is not large-scale invasion but sabotage by squads of specially trained troops."

#### MYSTERIOUS SUBMARINES

According to U.S. intelligence, Spetsnaz troops have been at work for years. In *Spe-*

*cial Operations in U.S. Strategy*, Defense Intelligence Agency expert John Dziak writes: "In Czechoslovakia in 1968, the Soviet seizure of the Prague airport was carried out by Spetsnaz troops under KGB orders. These units arrested party leader Aleksandr Dubcek and dispatched him to Moscow. Similar missions were carried out against other 'enemies' on KGB lists."

The Christmastime invasion of Afghanistan in 1979 was a classic Spetsnaz operation. Key Afghan army officers were lured to a reception in honor of "Afghan-Soviet friendship." As the officers celebrated, they were locked in the hall and blown up by a Spetsnaz unit.

But according to KGB defector Maj. Vladimir Kuzichkin, the primary objective of the several hundred Spetsnaz men flown into Kabul was the assassination of President Hafizullah Amin. On December 27, Spetsnaz forces wearing Afghan uniforms and under KGB command approached the Darulaman Palace from three sides, fought their way to Amin, and killed him, his family and guards.

Western intelligence, which depends heavily on radio intercepts, refugee and defector reports, indicates that the greatest Spetsnaz involvement today is in Afghanistan, where they are helping 120,000 Red Army troops fight guerrillas. "While costly, Afghanistan is considered by the Soviet military to be the first real operational laboratory for their armed forces since World War II," Dziak reports.

"Spetsnaz forces have influence well beyond the Soviet Union because their unconventional warfare tactics make them an excellent tool for exporting revolution," says U.S. Secretary of the Army John Marsh. Not only Afghan, but Cuban and other Third World troops have been to Spetsnaz training camps in the U.S.S.R.

Units of Spetsnaz are deployed regularly to probe the intelligence and military reflexes of the West. A favorite tool is a mini-submarine, able to crawl on the sea bed with tanklike tracks. Spetsnaz mini-subs spy on Swedish naval bases and look for potential landing beaches for assault swimmers. They have crept underwater to within a mile of Stockholm's Royal Palace. In March 1984 the Swedish army, using machine guns and hand grenades, repulsed Spetsnaz frogmen near a large navy base. More recently, these subs have been reported off the Strait of Gibraltar, the choke point between the Atlantic and Mediterranean, and have left tracks on the ocean bottom near Japanese naval bases.

Contemplating the Kremlin's bold use of Spetsnaz, Edward Luttwak, a top military analyst at The Center for Strategic and International Studies at Georgetown University, comments, "It's yet another sign that the Soviet Union is seriously planning its offensives."

Our Western allies have begun to cope with the ugly reality of Spetsnaz. For example, Britain is strengthening its Territorial Army and has established a Home Service Force for defense and to improve its guard systems for vital installations. And with good reason. Jane's Defence Weekly reported last January: "The Soviet Union has maintained a secret detachment of female Spetsnaz forces near Greenham Common Air Base since the deployment of U.S. Air Force land-based Tomahawk cruise missiles there in December 1983. Soviet defectors have disclosed that several trained agents infiltrated women's protest groups at



Greenham Common and were present at all times."

The Pentagon believes a multilayered response is necessary to foil Spetsnaz. Those groups, including leading public officials threatened by such a strike force, should be made aware of its capabilities. Agencies such as the FBI and Border Patrol, which would detect and respond to an attack by Spetsnaz forces, must know what to look for and be prepared to react. Finally, our intelligence-gathering on Spetsnaz—learning how, when and where they will strike—must be beefed up.

"The development of Spetsnaz has been rapid, and we are only now recognizing the magnitude of the threat they pose," concludes the Pentagon's Koch. "We must vastly improve our rear-area security to deal with that threat."

# THE ACTUAL EFFECTS OF GRAMM-RUDMAN ON FEDERAL AID TO HIGHER EDUCATION

HON. ROBERT A. ROE

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 8, 1986

Mr. ROE. Mr. Speaker, I rise to share with my colleagues information about the disastrous effects that Gramm-Rudman will have

on the College Work-Study Program on colleges and schools in my district and on the State of New Jersey. While we had been led to believe by the sponsors of that budget-balancing legislation that the sequestration of funds would be even-handed, a careful reading of the report (attached) reveals that such is not the case.

At congressional request, on March 27, 1986, the U.S. Department of Education produced a computerized survey showing marked differences in the College Work-Study Program for institutions in New Jersey and across the whole country. This document is entitled the "United States Department of Education Campus-Based Student Financial Assistance Programs-Comparison of Award Year 1986-1987 Tentative Awards: Actual Awards According to the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1985 (Public Law 99-177) and Estimated Awards According to the Fiscal Year 1986 Appropriations Act (Public Law 99-178)." The data reveals that some institutions face cuts of as much as 80 percent in the face of a 4.3-percent reduction as mandated by Gramm-Rudman.

In my district, William Paterson College will lose 2 percent in student assistance funds, Passaic County Community College will lose 9.3 percent in college work-study awards, and Montclair State College will lose 11 percent in supplemental educational opportunity grants

[SEOG]. The Berdan Institute in Totowa stands to lose 2.7-percent SEOG awards, the Clifton School of Business will lose 4.5-percent SEOG awards, and the Katherine Gibbs School in Montclair will lose 5-percent SEOG awards.

The inequities in these reductions in my own district can be found elsewhere in the State of New Jersey. Hudson County Community College in Jersey will lose 22.4 percent of its Federal assistance, the Wilfred Academies will suffer an 11-percent reduction in aid, and the Institute of Business and Technology in Newark will have its Federal aid cut by 23.8 percent. At the same time, there will be no reduction in college work-study allocations for both Princeton University in Princeton and Rutgers University in New Brunswick.

Mr. Speaker, it strikes me as blatantly unfair to reduce allocations for Federal support for higher education in this manner. Some students will be penalized while others will not; some colleges and universities will suffer reduced enrollments; others will not. Career opportunities for some New Jersey students will be jeopardized; others will not see their career goals threatened. These inequitable reductions in allocation for Federal aid to education violate the basic principles of American democracy, and should not be allowed to stand, for they are not in the best interests of our Nation.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION CAMPUS-BASED STUDENT FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS—COMPARISON OF AWARD YEAR 1986-87 TENTATIVE AWARDS: ACTUAL AWARDS ACCORDING TO THE BALANCED BUDGET AND EMERGENCY DEFICIT CONTROL ACT OF 1985 (PUBLIC LAW 99-177) AND ESTIMATED AWARDS ACCORDING TO THE FISCAL YEAR 1986 APPROPRIATIONS ACT (PUBLIC LAW 99-178)

Institution and city	SEOG awards		CW-S awards		NDSL awards	
	Actual Public Law 99-177	Estimate Public Law 99-178	Actual Public Law 99-177	Estimate Public Law 99-178	Actual Public Law 99-177	Estimate Public Law 99-178
<b>NEW JERSEY</b>						
Academy of Business Careers, Woodbridge	\$5,152	\$5,152	0	0	0	0
American Business Academy, Hackensack	51,208	51,208	0	0	0	0
Atlantic Community College, Mays Landing	30,513	37,701	\$60,139	\$68,578	\$100,000	\$100,000
Berdan Institute, Totowa	1,116	5,260	0	0	7,295	7,872
Bergan Community College, Paramus	156,740	156,740	165,843	170,691	0	0
Beth Medrash Govoha of America, Lakewood	121,923	121,923	441,066	441,066	49,046	49,046
Bilingual Institute, Newark	5,508	5,508	6,412	7,022	0	0
Bloomfield College, Bloomfield	101,605	108,183	172,717	172,717	100,000	100,000
Brick Computer Science Institute, Brick	10,300	10,978	10,000	10,000	0	0
Brookdale Community College, Lincroft	35,683	46,397	90,243	105,721	15,000	15,000
Burlington County College, Pemberton	28,220	32,084	59,480	64,923	0	0
Caldwell College, Caldwell	29,588	29,588	50,801	50,801	0	0
Camden County College, Blackwood	169,739	182,608	241,556	276,073	0	0
Capri Institute of Hair Design, Clifton	6,817	6,817	0	0	0	0
Capri Institute of Hair Design, North Haledon	5,000	5,000	0	0	0	0
Capri Institute of Hair Design, Paramus	5,000	5,000	0	0	4,000	4,000
Capri Institute of Hair Design, Kenilworth	5,000	5,000	0	0	4,000	4,000
Capri Institute of Hair Design, Bricktown	5,000	5,000	0	0	4,500	4,500
Centenary College, Hackettstown	32,317	41,291	49,066	54,353	18,737	21,720
Cliffone Institute, Edison	19,199	19,688	5,000	5,000	0	0
Clifton School of Business, Clifton	29,559	30,982	0	0	0	0
College of St. Elizabeth, Convent Station	20,053	21,592	20,000	20,000	0	0
Computer Learning Center, Paramus	36,013	38,638	22,723	26,227	52,114	53,852
Concorde School of Hair Design, Eatontown	5,000	5,000	0	0	6,764	6,764
County College of Morris, Randolph	33,103	38,376	124,115	124,115	50,000	50,000
Cumberland County College, Vineland	10,870	11,664	23,000	23,000	0	0
Devry Technical Institute, Woodbridge	224,961	275,197	0	0	450,000	450,000
Don Bosco College, Newton	0	0	9,234	9,234	0	0
Dorothy Arstone's School, Maple Shade	7,072	7,072	0	0	4,462	4,462
Dover Business College, Dover	5,654	5,792	0	0	0	0
Drake College of Business, Elizabeth	10,188	12,085	0	0	27,488	30,261
Drake Secretarial College, Jersey City	8,366	9,034	0	0	0	0
Drew University, Madison	125,838	151,061	212,862	232,710	174,981	174,981
Elec. Computer Prog. Inst.-Paterson, Paterson	45,666	45,666	0	0	0	0
Elizabeth General Med. Ctr. Sch. of Nursing, Elizabeth	18,587	18,587	29,750	29,750	0	0
Empire Technical Schools of New Jersey, Inc., East Orange	45,625	45,625	0	0	40,224	40,225
Engine City Technical Institute, Union	8,100	8,100	0	0	10,935	10,935
Essex College of Business, Newark	93,932	101,137	66,929	80,456	0	0
Essex County College, Newark	116,600	116,600	481,314	481,314	0	0
European Academy of Cosmetology, Union	8,694	8,694	0	0	0	0
Fairleigh Dickinson University, Rutherford	798,181	798,181	516,411	536,288	0	0
Felician College, Lodi	16,973	16,973	27,990	27,990	0	0
Franklin Beauty School, Jersey City	5,216	5,394	0	0	0	0
Franklin Beauty School—Elizabeth, Elizabeth	5,355	5,355	0	0	0	0
Georgian Court College, Lakewood	20,000	20,000	18,000	18,000	0	0
Glassboro State College, Glassboro	434,250	434,250	734,038	734,038	0	0
Gloucester County College, Sewell P.O.	15,881	17,583	45,069	47,374	0	0
Hudson County Community College, Jersey City	43,241	50,760	111,873	144,192	0	0

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION CAMPUS-BASED STUDENT FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS—COMPARISON OF AWARD YEAR 1986-87 TENTATIVE AWARDS: ACTUAL AWARDS ACCORDING TO THE BALANCED BUDGET AND EMERGENCY DEFICIT CONTROL ACT OF 1985 (PUBLIC LAW 99-177) AND ESTIMATED AWARDS ACCORDING TO THE FISCAL YEAR 1986 APPROPRIATIONS ACT (PUBLIC LAW 99-178)—Continued

Institution and city	SEOG awards		CW-S awards		NDSL awards	
	Actual Public Law 99-177	Estimate Public Law 99-178	Actual Public Law 99-177	Estimate Public Law 99-178	Actual Public Law 99-177	Estimate Public Law 99-178
Immaculate Conception Seminary, South Orange	0	0	10,000	10,000	0	0
Institute of Business and Technology, Newark	45,969	57,261	70,727	92,878	0	0
Institute of Business Careers, Trenton	10,278	10,278	0	0	0	0
Jersey City State College, Jersey City	108,870	108,870	432,823	432,823	0	0
Katharine Gibbs School, Montclair	32,797	34,510	36,675	36,675	0	0
Kean College of New Jersey, Union	140,000	140,000	270,288	294,251	50,000	50,000
Kubert's School of Cartoon & Graphic Art, Inc., Dover	6,881	7,536	0	0	0	0
Lincoln Tech Business Institute, Pennsauken	17,106	17,756	0	0	36,490	40,418
Lincoln Technical Institute, Union	31,805	31,805	0	0	7,497	7,786
Lyons Institute, Hackensack	115,790	115,790	0	0	73,872	73,872
Maison de Paris Beauty College, Haddonfield	9,580	11,266	0	0	0	0
Mercer County Community College, Trenton	55,593	59,754	124,466	128,090	0	0
Middlesex County College, Edison	40,166	40,200	109,189	121,815	25,000	25,000
Monmouth College, W. Long Branch	176,558	181,965	163,797	176,430	0	0
Montclair State College, Upper Montclair	173,397	195,027	332,176	370,210	4,165	11,227
Muhlenberg Hosp. Sch. of Nursing, Plainfield	5,148	5,303	6,820	7,560	0	0
National Education Center—Bryman Campus East, East Brunswick	10,810	10,810	10,000	10,000	1,718	1,718
National Education Center—Rets. Campus Nutley, Nutley	16,780	19,695	10,000	10,000	0	0
Natural Motion Institute of Hair Design, Jersey City	27,674	27,674	0	0	0	0
New Horizons Institute of Cosmetology, Inc., Union City	5,148	5,148	0	0	15,522	15,966
New Jersey Institute of Technology, Newark	141,546	165,237	184,477	221,097	90,000	90,000
Northeastern Bible College, Essex Fells	6,013	6,467	35,000	35,000	0	0
Ocean County College, Toms River	30,634	32,000	88,087	90,000	30,000	30,000
Omega Institute, Cinnaminson	7,950	8,788	0	0	19,441	20,000
P.B. School of Beauty Culture, Gloucester City	6,292	6,843	0	0	0	0
Passaic County Community College, Paterson	50,364	58,300	149,161	164,539	0	0
Paterno College of Beauty Culture, Dover	6,753	6,753	0	0	0	0
Pennco Tech., Blackwood	11,895	11,895	0	0	22,879	25,272
Placido's School of Hair Design, Rutherford	5,000	5,000	0	0	0	0
Plaza School of Drafting, Paramus	10,756	11,770	9,288	10,901	0	0
Popkin School of Court Reporting, Inc., Cherry Hill	5,000	5,000	0	0	0	0
Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton	0	0	55,000	55,000	65,850	65,850
Princeton University, Princeton	885,045	885,045	1,060,000	1,060,000	415,885	472,173
Rabbinical College of America, Morristown	45,146	45,146	93,517	93,517	0	0
Ramapo College of New Jersey, Mahwah	82,965	82,965	213,274	213,274	0	0
Rider College, Lawrenceville	140,538	158,390	320,338	320,338	22,133	28,104
Roberts-Walsh Business School, Union	53,781	57,418	0	0	50,750	50,750
Roman Academy of Beauty Culture, Hawthorne	5,000	5,000	0	0	0	0
Rutgers—State University—New Jersey, New Brunswick	1,555,263	1,555,263	1,959,278	1,959,278	0	0
St. Peter's College, Jersey City	196,675	209,663	414,465	414,465	0	0
Salem Community College, Carneys Point	18,495	18,495	39,983	41,798	0	0
Sawyer School—Elizabeth, Elizabeth	33,719	33,719	2,000	2,000	0	0
School of Business Machines, Jersey City	72,185	72,185	0	0	0	0
Selton Hall University, South Orange	214,020	265,529	390,158	486,110	450,000	450,000
Somerset County Technical Institute, Bridgewater	0	0	3,500	3,500	0	0
Somerset County College, Somerville	28,000	28,000	14,428	17,833	0	0
Stevens Institute of Technology, Hoboken	143,716	172,727	625,772	625,772	178,169	202,616
Stockton State College, Pomona	70,681	82,628	147,616	163,022	120,000	120,000
Talmudical Institute of Central Jersey, Adelphia	8,869	8,869	17,000	17,000	0	0
Teleboro School of Aeronautics, Inc., Teterboro	14,221	14,724	0	0	1,289	1,290
The Claire Demarzo Institute of Professional, Westwood	5,000	5,000	0	0	0	0
Trenton State College, Trenton	96,581	100,412	167,225	176,558	0	0
Union County College, Cranford	51,306	58,537	76,794	98,320	0	0
Union Technical Institute, Neptune	21,290	21,290	0	0	47,882	47,822
University of Medicine and Dentistry of New Jersey, Newark	17,940	17,940	392,794	450,000	749,909	805,513
Upsala College, East Orange	274,627	274,627	305,908	305,908	0	0
Westminster Choir College, Princeton	41,749	43,805	76,337	76,337	32,467	36,935
Wilfred Academy, Newark	93,143	93,143	117,277	131,745	81,597	81,598
William Paterson College of New Jersey, Wayne	111,166	113,443	229,583	229,583	0	0
State totals for New Jersey	8,616,080	9,003,288	12,560,852	13,115,268	3,712,001	3,881,528

## BACKGROUND ON TVA PROBLEMS

### HON. RONNIE G. FLIPPO

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 8, 1986

Mr. FLIPPO. Mr. Speaker, the Tennessee Valley Authority is an Agency of Government which has been and continues to be of great value to the Nation and to the region in which it is located.

However, problems have begun to surface in recent years. Because of my great esteem for the potential service of TVA to the Nation, I have devoted considerable time to a review of the problems and an evaluation of corrective actions. I want to share my findings with my colleagues.

#### WHAT IS THE PROBLEM?

An elephant, the old story goes, is a creature put together by a committee.

The Tennessee Valley Authority [TVA] is a Federal corporation running the Nation's largest electric power system—and managed by a committee. It may be the only organization of its size in the Nation operating under a board of directors that both makes policy and carries out the management of that policy—by a three-member committee.

It is time to end this inefficient system by which the Agency is under a three-headed creature, a troika system that means no one person is responsible, no one person is accountable, no one monitors management.

If management by troika were not bad enough, this Federal Agency is virtually a law unto itself, insulated from outside forces. It makes decisions in a closed manner. It is insulated from "interference" by the Congress and the President—and insulated from "interference" by the people who pay for its electric power program, the electricity ratepayers in the Tennessee Valley.

This Agency, amazingly, sets its own electricity prices—prices that have skyrocketed in

the past 15 years. TVA may be the only electric service provider in the United States that sets its own prices, without a formal public hearing process, without regulation from any outside force or group of forces.

What, then, are the problems that have led to the proposal to amend the TVA Act?

First, an archaic, irrational management structure—established without extended analysis more than half a century ago. This management-governance structure has two serious flaws:

It mixes apples and oranges—putting into the hands of one body the jobs of policy and management. When the Board also manages, there is no one to monitor management.

Management by committee, with no person responsible and no one accountable.

Second, a bureaucratic organization that is virtually a law unto itself, insulated from outside forces. TVA may have more autonomy, and less accountability to outside forces, than any Federal agency of its size and scope.



Third, no voice in policy making by the electric ratepayers of the region—who pay every dollar of TVA's electric power costs. Six million electric ratepayers, paying TVA well over \$4 billion a year, but with no representation on the TVA Board, no formal process to critique the Agency on billion-dollar decisions.

What has been the result of these circumstances?

The results have been:

Ineffective management, so ineffective that the TVA Board has been forced to bring in outside private consultants to manage the nuclear power program. Employee morale has suffered.

Bad policy making, perhaps the most disastrous in this Nation's electric utility industry. Bad decisions—made without input, by a three-member committee—that may cost the Tennessee Valley ratepayers as much as \$10 billion—for nuclear power facilities that will not produce 1 dollar's worth of electricity. Waste, on a huge scale.

No clear responsibility to the ratepayers for these multibillion dollar policy mistakes. The ratepayers, who pick up the tab for every dollar of TVA's power system costs, have no representation, no formal process of input and protest. No voice.

An agency that sets its own prices, without even an adversarial hearing process.

A weakened agency internally, due in part to the Board's attempt to handle both policy making and management, and doing neither well.

What does this proposal offer to deal with these problems?

The proposal would:

Put the Agency under a modern management setup, based on the model of a business-like corporation. This would include a part-time board concentrating on policy-making and on monitoring the Agency's performance, a professional manager—chief executive officer—selected by the Board, to manage the Agency on a day-to-day basis, and Board committees to deal in depth yet at an arms length from day-to-day management with such policy issues as electric rate-making.

Require, for the first time, that TVA directors be representative of the region, and of the electric ratepayers.

Provide for an Inspector General, under Federal law, to report to the new, part-time, policy-making board. The recently appointed TVA Inspector General reports to the Board, but this is the same board that manages the Agency. So, at present, the IG, in effect, reports to management. Under this proposal, the part-time Board would focus on policy. Thus, the Board would oversee and monitor management, not be a part of it.

TVA became half a century old in 1985. From TVA's early days questions have been raised about the wisdom of the dual role of policy and management thrust on the three-member Board. Rhetoric, New Deal enthusiasm, and the delivery of highly desirable services helped to mask the structural problems and to thwart those who expressed concern about the symptoms of the problems. As the TVA faces serious real problems in operation of a nuclear power system, in employee morale, in the confidence of those it serves,

and in its role for the future, it is time to move beyond lamenting the symptoms of the problem. This proposal is an effort to prepare TVA for continued service to the people of the region and of the Nation by updating TVA management structure through introduction of modern corporate governance concepts for greater responsiveness and accountability. The people of the United States and the electric ratepayers of the TVA region deserve at least this much in this valuable institution.

#### THE SCOPE OF THE PROPOSAL

The legislation is in two parts. The first focuses on a small portion of the Tennessee Valley Authority Act, section 2, and a paragraph in section 3, dealing with the composition and duties of the board of directors. No other sections of the TVA Act are involved. The second part amends the Inspector General Act to give the TVA's inspector general statutory structure, authority and responsibilities.

The proposal:

First, recognizes the TVA's special role as a Federal corporation.

Second, reflects the fact that TVA is a complex organization with some highly technical activities and requires sophisticated, professional management of its operations plus the public participation and support of its policy function due to its statutory political nature.

Third, is based on the reality that the TVA is a different enterprise than a publicly held business corporation and a different enterprise than the original institution itself.<sup>1</sup>

Fourth, establishes a new form of management which incorporates essential elements of prevailing corporate governance structure for greater control, accountability, and responsiveness.

The thrust of the proposal would fix the responsibility for day-to-day operations of TVA in a single chief executive officer, the same as is found today in most of the corporations in this country and in all the cooperatives and municipal systems which distribute TVA power. The responsibilities of the board would change from day-to-day management of the agency to monitoring and regulating the agency and making policy adjustments as necessary.

Under such a concept, the board should be viewed as trustees for the combined constituencies of the agency, rather than the current concept of the board as technocrats attempting to manage a complex public organization. The major change is the elimination of the board's present dual, and sometime conflicting responsibilities, for establishing policy and then implementing the policy without any other independent review or evaluation. The board remains the ultimate corporate authority.

#### THE HISTORY

Compared to other elements of the TVA Act and its predecessors, the composition and duties of the board and the functions of government of the TVA received scant attention of the Congress of 1933. The initial TVA or Muscle Shoals legislation originated in the

War Department in 1919 and called for a board of from 3 to 11 members appointed by the Secretary of War. The first Norris bill in 1922 called for three full-time board members appointed by the President for no fixed term.

In 1928, the first TVA bill approved by the Congress established a five-member, part-time board and a chief executive officer. The second TVA bill to pass both Houses—in 1931—provided three part-time board members and general control and management of the agency by a general manager. The first bills introduced in 1933 still called for a strong general manager but differed on the number of days board members could serve per year. After President Roosevelt's April 10, 1933, message on TVA, new bills were introduced calling for three full-time board members. Ultimately, the idea of a general manager was dropped from the enacted version. But for most of the period when Congress was actively considering TVA or Muscle Shoals legislation, emphasis was on a part-time board, or Muscle Shoals legislation, emphasis was on a part-time board, and chief executive officer chosen by the board to manage the agency.

From the perspective of the first board members who had a hand in drafting the final version of the TVA Act, the nature of the tasks facing the start up of the agency and the political urgency for rapid results in those desperate early New Deal days may have seemed to favor the kind of three-man full-time board which emerged from the conference committee. Yet the most noted early TVA scholars expressed grave doubts about the wisdom of this structure. Even the first board changed its views on the matter of a chief executive officer and established a general manager in 1936.<sup>2</sup>

One early TVA scholar, Herman Finer, writing in 1944 on "TVA: Lessons for International Application," was clear about the question:

Whether a full-time board of directors was, or is, necessary is doubtful. It was not the deliberate result of careful congressional meditation on alternatives . . . . Experience of the first 8 years of the TVA's operation . . . certainly raises the question whether a board of three men each with equal authority could not be better replaced with a single administrator.

Another scholar, C. Herman Pritchett has written:

My experience and information concerning the TVA are largely limited to the first 10 years of its existence. However, during that period the problems resulting from a small full-time board were only too evident.

Thus, it seems the problems attributable to the board structure and size are not limited to recent times. The difficulties have been there from the beginning.

While various constituencies may differ with positions expressed by individual TVA directors over the years, it is unproductive to attempt to second guess or berate prior decisions and actions of particular directors or boards. Under the tripartite management scheme established by the original legislation,

<sup>1</sup> There is no evidence either early legislators or TVA boards anticipated the current situation regarding financing of the agency or the scope of the electric program.

<sup>2</sup> For an expanded review of the early management structure proposals, see staff discussion paper: The Tennessee Valley Authority Board: Why Three Full-Time Members?

no single director can assume the responsibility nor suffer the blame for specific management failures. While the simple approach to TVA's problems would be to fault board members with whom one disagrees, a more thorough analysis points strongly to the structure through which the board operates as the weak link in the governance of the agency.

#### THE 1959 CHANGES

A profound change in the nature of TVA was brought about by the self-financing legislation of 1959 when the responsibility for the electric power program was transferred from the people of the United States to the people of the TVA region. In expressions through the political process in the early 1950's, the people of the United States refused to provide further resources for development of the TVA's electric power program. The decision was intolerable to the people of the TVA region and their desire for the continued availability of electric energy culminated in the 1959 TVA self-financing legislation, again through the political process.

Thus, in 1959 the TVA became basically a regionally-financed agency in regard to electricity, an agency whose policies directly affected the pocketbook of every citizen in the region. But though this drastic change in accountability and responsibility took place a quarter of a century ago, there has been no change in TVA's formal methods of accountability to the people.

For example:

There is no independent regulation of TVA's wholesale electric rates—which make up more than 80 percent of the total retail cost of electricity for the Valley's users—by any entity other than a TVA Board composed of policy-maker/managers, who also have the responsibility for operations of the agency.

There is no formal process by which TVA's decisions, sometimes multibillion-dollar decisions, are subject to public review, through hearings or other methods.

There is no administrative device through which the people of the region are represented in the TVA decision-making process.

There is no formal procedure by which the region's people or their representatives can effectively comment on TVA actions.

In practice, numerous informal methods are used by the TVA Board to air public opinion. The agency, in fact, has in recent years stepped up its efforts to obtain the views of people in the region. But—in an era where public participation and organizational responsiveness are the trend of the times—TVA policymaking rests almost totally in the hands of three persons who not only make those policies, but manage the execution of the policy as full-time agency employees.<sup>3</sup>

The TVA's statutory mandate is so broad that no single outside institution can effectively control the agency. Congress cannot—and has done nothing to control the TVA for a

quarter of a century, since the self-financing amendments of 1959. Congressional attention is primarily after-the-fact due to the nature of the relationship between the executive and the legislative branches. Presidents do not, even though they nominate TVA directors. Presidents appear to have more pressing national and international problems to absorb their attention. OMB does not—even though OMB and TVA engage in constant skirmishes.

As important as the TVA decisions are to the people of the region in terms of the agency's ability to make commitments which require payment by the people of the service area, the business of TVA fades to inconsequential in comparison to other pressing national problems with which the President and the Congress must deal. As the national budget approaches a trillion dollars a year, the TVA's appropriated program of a mere \$100 million or so appears in only the most detailed accounts.

The essential result of the 1959 amendments was to make the people of the Tennessee Valley region totally responsible for paying for whatever costs the TVA power program incurred. The TVA Board tells the people of the region what expenditures are necessary and what the costs will be. There is no other appeal or review, even an ineffective procedure, available to the public to challenge these charges or question the appropriateness of actions.

#### THE PHILADELPHIA PROTESTANT HOME

#### HON. ROBERT A. BORSKI

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 8, 1986

Mr. BORSKI. Mr. Speaker, I rise to pay tribute to the Philadelphia Protestant Home, which has just completed a \$13 million construction project which will greatly improve the services it offers to its residents.

The Philadelphia Protestant Home was formed in 1890 by 14 local churches. Since then it has grown into a group of 34 churches representing five different denominations. These churches provide full support for the Protestant Home, which has a staff of 160 and serves over 500 residents.

The Protestant Home makes a strong commitment to caring for its residents, even devoting \$500,000 a year to supporting residents who cannot pay themselves.

To honor the completion of 3 years of work in expanding and upgrading their facilities, the Protestant Home is sponsoring a week long series of seminars on issues concerning older persons. These sessions will address the important matters of retirement planning, coping with retirement itself, and the role of religious groups in supporting older persons. They will also focus on how young people can better understand the elderly.

The Philadelphia Protestant Home has played a very positive role in its community, offering its social hall to local groups like the AARP and the Boy Scouts.

I strongly commend the Philadelphia Protestant Home for the fine services it offers its

residents and for its efforts in promoting better understanding of the needs of retired persons among all of us. As a member of the House Select Committee on Aging, I share these very concerns. I am pleased that the Protestant Home will continue to make a highly positive contribution to the people of the Third Congressional District and to everyone in the Philadelphia area.

I know I am joined by all my colleagues in wishing the Philadelphia Protestant Home the best of all possible success in its new facilities, and with all its future activities.

#### BIELARUSIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY

#### HON. FRANK ANNUNZIO

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 8, 1986

Mr. ANNUNZIO. Mr. Speaker, March 25 marked the 68th anniversary of the Belarussian National Republic, and I am glad to take this opportunity to commemorate this important event in the history of a free people.

The Belarussian Coordinating Committee of Chicago, dedicated to the restoration of human liberty in Belarussia, held their annual commemorative banquet and program to mark this occasion. This year's observance was held on Sunday, March 23, at 1 p.m. at the Regency Inn, 5319 West Diversey Avenue in Chicago, and I join with the members of the Committee in their prayers, hopes, and determination that the Belarussian people will once again have a free nation.

As noted by the committee, the Belarussian independence commemoration is a sad occasion, and one seldom hears about Belarussia in our press reports because Belarussia has been completely cut off from the world by the heavy presence of Soviet troops, and because Moscow continues to destroy the Belarussian Nation by assimilation. The Russians have attempted to wipe out the Belarussians' history, their culture, and their language, and want them to completely forget their past. The communists have written new books, manufacturing a new culture and inventing a new history for the Belarussian people in an attempt to completely liquidate the Belarussian people. Nevertheless, many Belarussians have stood firm in their resolve to oppose the actions of the Communists.

To mark this 68th anniversary, I added my name to a Congressional letter sent to General Secretary Gorbachev in which I called for the immediate release of Mikhail Kukobaka, the brave Belarussian dissident who was first arrested in 1970 for "anti-Soviet slander," and had continually been rearrested each time his prison term has been served. His only crime is that he has renounced his Soviet citizenship and desires to emigrate from Russia. This courageous individual who continues to stand up against the tyranny of his oppressors is a source of strength and inspiration for Belarussians throughout the world, who hope and pray for the day when their beloved country may once again join the community of free nations. The text of the letter to General Secretary Gorbachev follows:

<sup>3</sup> An apparent exception to this situation is the recently hired "nuclear czar." Here, the board is said to have given extraordinary authority to a recognized nuclear expert to make any necessary changes to restore the TVA's nuclear plants to operation. But the very fact that the board was forced to bring in a "nuclear czar" indicates that a three-member body is an ineffective management device. Someone has to be in charge and responsible.



**MIKHAIL GORBACHEV,**  
General Secretary, Central Committee of the  
Communist Party USSR, The Kremlin,  
Moscow, RSFSR, USSR.

DEAR SECRETARY GORBACHEV: We, the undersigned Members of the United States Congress, are writing to request your intervention in the case of Mikhail Kukobaka.

Since 1970, when he was first confined for anti-Soviet slander, Mr. Kukobaka has been rearrested each time that his sentence has been served. Eligible for release in October 1984, he was given a new sentence of 7 years detention in a labor camp and 5 years in internal exile. Mr. Kukobaka has renounced Soviet citizenship and has expressed the desire to emigrate to a Western country.

As evidenced by the long period of confinement, we believe that Mikhail Kukobaka has served ample time for the charges brought against him and can see no purpose for extending his sentence. He possesses no state secrets and would pose no threat to Soviet security. On behalf of many Belarusian-Americans concerned about the plight of Mr. Kukobaka and in the interest of improving U.S.-U.S.S.R. relations, we urge you to release Mikhail Kukobaka and to allow him to emigrate.

Thank you for your consideration of this matter and we eagerly await your response.

Mr. Speaker, the United States has benefited enormously from the courage and vitality of Belarusian-Americans, who have contributed spiritually, economically, and intellectually to the strength of our Nation. It is with pride that I join with Belarusian-Americans in the 11th Congressional District of Illinois which I am honored to represent, and Americans of Belarusian descent throughout the country, who are commemorating the 68th anniversary of the independence of Belarusia, and I share their hope that one day the people of Belarusia can once again enjoy the blessings of freedom and national self-determination.

#### A TRIBUTE TO FRANK H. MACHADO

#### HON. TONY COELHO

OF CALIFORNIA  
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
Tuesday, April 8, 1986

Mr. COELHO. Mr. Speaker, on April 11, 1986, friends and admirers of Mr. Frank H. Machado will gather to honor him on the occasion of his retirement from his position as director of the Stanislaus County Veterans Service Office after 25 years of service to the veterans of Stanislaus County, CA.

Frank first began working for Stanislaus County in 1961 when he was hired as a veterans' service officer, and in 1979 he was promoted to the position of director of the Veterans Service Office. Over the years he has been highly involved in veterans affairs throughout the State of California. He has served as president of the Modesto post of the American Legion, has served in a variety of statewide legion offices, and is currently a candidate for the position of California Department Commander.

Frank's efforts on behalf of veterans have not gone unrecognized. He has received an award from the U.S. Naval Sea Cadets in appreciation for his dedicated service to the military, and received both the Man of the Year

and Loyalty awards from the Modesto chapter of the Veterans of Foreign Wars. Last year, his service to veterans throughout the State was recognized by the California State Assembly.

In addition to his service to our community and State, Frank has also worked hard to serve our country. Last month he retired from the U.S. Naval Reserves after 20 years of dedicated service in the Reserves.

I would like to join with Frank's other friends in saluting him for all his efforts on behalf of veterans throughout California over the last quarter century. I wish him continued health and happiness in his retirement.

#### BILL KUCEWICZ PINPOINTS "YELLOW RAIN" EVIDENCE

#### HON. JIM COURTER

OF NEW JERSEY  
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
Tuesday, April 8, 1986

Mr. COURTER. Mr. Speaker, one of the most tiresome "fool's errands" in United States-Soviet relations has been the protracted search for conclusive evidence that the "yellow rain" chemical weapons samples found in Southeast Asia are not, in fact, bee feces. In their efforts to absolve the Soviet Union of any blame for chemical weapons attacks, several noted scientists have been demanding "smoking gun" evidence before they will abandon their quaint insect excrement hypothesis.

But, as the following article from the Wall Street Journal notes, the Canadian Government may be preparing to produce the most damning evidence thus far, linking Soviet client states to the conduct of despicable chemical weapons "experiments" on the people of Cambodia and Thailand. Together with numerous eyewitness accounts and independent laboratory analyses, the Canadian report may finally convince the obstinate skeptics that the Soviet Union is capable of committing atrocities at the same time that it is exonerating the Reagan administration for poisoning "the spirit of Geneva." I urge my colleagues to pay careful attention to the following article.

[From the Wall Street Journal, Mar. 31, 1986]

#### YELLOW RAIN CONFIRMED (By William Kuciewicz)

The Canadian government is about to release the most conclusive proof yet that yellow rain is a man-made weapon. The evidence supports the U.S. charges that the Soviet Union and its allies have used deadly toxin weapons in Southeast Asia. The Canadians have not only found positive yellow-rain samples from an attack site, but they also have what appears to be part of a weapon. The new data go a long way toward solving some of the yellow-rain riddles that have baffled scientists and military experts ever since the first attacks more than a decade ago.

The study was conducted by the Ottawa-based Defense Research Establishment, an agency of the Ministry of Defence whose work includes chemical weaponry. The analysis, titled the "Final Summary Report on the Investigation of Yellow Rain Samples

from Southeast Asia," is expected to be released in mid-April. Canadian officials refused to provide any information about the report; however, sources familiar with the report provided the Journal with the essential details.

Canadian scientists found trichothecene mycotoxins—the same deadly fungi identified by the U.S. government and independent American scientists—in yellow-rain samples collected from a 1982 attack site in Thailand. The Canadians also apparently acquired part of a yellow-rain weapon—a piece of plastic bag—from the same site. The plastic was covered with high concentrations of various trichothecenes and carried no pollen grains.

#### PRIMITIVE EXISTENCE

On Feb. 19, 1982, at 9:30 a.m., an unmarked, single-engine plane circled the Thai village of Ban Sa Tong, located about 10 kilometers west of the Cambodian border. After five or six circuits, the aircraft dropped a yellow substance from a height of about 5,000 feet. According to previously published reports, six houses in the southeast sector of the village were "liberally covered" with a yellow powder that stuck to roofs, walls, foliage and ground.

The people of Ban Sa Tong live a primitive existence. Their houses are raised on piles and consist primarily of a single communal room, largely devoid of furniture, with one wall open to the outside. Despite these conditions, visitors reported that the houses and people were clean. The villagers' primary occupation is tending crops in surrounding fields. Immediately following the attack, the shocked inhabitants notified Thai authorities.

The incident was most striking at the time because no area of Thailand had ever been hit before by a yellow-rain attack. All of the previous evidence compiled by the U.S. government involved attacks in Laos—mainly against the primitive H'Mong people—and in Cambodia. The U.S. has said that these attacks were conducted by Vietnamese and, occasionally, Laotian forces. The U.S. has charged the Soviet Union with supplying the yellow-rain material and providing military advisers to assist in its use. This violates the Biological Weapons Convention of 1972 and the Geneva Protocol of 1925.

Thai authorities sent public-health officials and military experts to investigate the incident. They found, however, that no major epidemic had occurred as a result of the yellow rain. Absent were the severe symptoms reported by the H'Mong and Cambodians, especially the profuse internal hemorrhaging and agonizing deaths. None of the villagers, for instance, were hospitalized. Thai authorities concluded that the event was a ruse, perhaps intended to test Thai reactions.

Canada then sent in its own epidemiological team to investigate the incident at Ban Sa Tong. The medical experts, with the cooperation of Thai authorities, interviewed 33 villagers, most of whom lived in the area where the substance actually landed. Blood samples were taken and about 200 leaf samples were collected. Several metal roofs and walls were scraped clean of the yellow powder. Control samples were also collected from surrounding areas. All of the samples were sent back to the National Defense Headquarters in Ottawa for analysis.

Unlike the Thai doctors, the Canadian medical team "soon discovered minor symptoms which appeared unusual." The team found that 21 of the 33 villagers (or an un-

usually high 64%) were ill due to the yellow-rain attack, though none had died. Their symptoms included mouth and throat soreness, increased thirst, stiffness, trembling, cough, shortness of breath, chest pain, nausea, itching of the skin, rapid heart beat, blurred vision, weakness and dizziness. All of these symptoms are associated with yellow-rain attacks elsewhere in Asia. The epidemiological findings were published by the medical branch of Canada's National Defence Headquarters in August 1982.

The team concluded that the "uncommon level of illness" in Ban Sa Tong was the result of no other "possible causal mechanism common to all those affected except the yellow substance dropped on the village." Without laboratory analysis of the samples, however, the Canadian team stopped short of declaring that Ban Sa Tong had been hit by chemical weapons, though the report as a whole concluded that chemical-biological weapons "are being used" in Southeast Asia "against unprotected troops and civilians with inadequate medical support." Moreover, it added, "Most of the deaths associated with the use of CW/BW agents are the result of inadequate or inappropriate medical care."

The new report on the Ban Sa Tong samples concludes that there was in fact a chemical-weapon attack using the same mycotoxins that the U.S. government has found in Laos and Cambodia (and also on two Russian gas masks from Afghanistan). The Thai samples included three different types of trichothecenes—T2, HT-2 and DAS—which don't naturally form in combination. None of the control samples for neighboring areas showed any traces of the relatively rare trichothecenes, and villagers in those areas showed no signs of trichothecene-associated illnesses. The Canadian report, therefore, rules out the possibility these particular mycotoxins were naturally occurring. They could only come from man-made weapons.

The environmental samples showed relatively low levels of the toxins. This may explain why these villagers didn't suffer the types of violent deaths seen at other yellow-rain attack sites. By comparison, high levels of trichothecenes were found on the piece of plastic bag. And this has led Canadian researchers to conclude that the plastic is actually part of the cleverly simple weapon itself.

Villagers said that the aircraft had dropped something that appeared to explode in midair releasing its yellow contents, according to previously undisclosed evidence in the new report. Among the remnants of the device was the piece of plastic. Canadian experts surmise that the yellow powder was contained in a plastic container with an explosive charge that would rip the plastic apart and scatter the powder in a big yellow cloud. This would help to explain the nagging question of why no shrapnel has ever been found at attack sites. (The other most commonly used technique for disseminating yellow rain has been aerial spraying, much like cropdusting, which leaves nothing but the yellow powder behind.)

#### TEST FINDINGS

Back in Ottawa, experts were mindful of the controversy that yellow rain might be nothing more than pollen or droppings of Asian honeybees. Harvard biochemist Matthew Meselson and some of his colleagues had challenged the U.S. data on yellow rain. They said the yellow-rain samples were not trichothecene-laced weapons but rather merely bee feces. In an attempt to settle

this dispute, the Canadian scientists used electroscanning pictures, or photomicrographs, to look closely at the samples. They found no pollen or feces on the plastic. They only discovered unusually high concentrations of the trichothecenes. The new report adds a typical scientific caveat: Because the Canadians were given the plastic, they cannot vouch for its authenticity. Nonetheless, all the other evidence points to the plastic as part of a Soviet-inspired yellow-rain device.

The plastic also helps to explain another running question. In late 1981, Joseph Rosen of Rutgers University tested a yellow-rain sample for ABC News. Besides finding three types of trichothecenes, he also discovered a man-made, industrial compound—polyethyleneglycol. It is possible that this came from the plastic containing the yellow rain.

Canada is not the only country to have tested yellow-rain samples from Ban Sa Tong. Britain and France have conducted their own tests, and Thai authorities sent samples to Japan for analysis. According to well-placed sources, all of these tests showed positive results for the mycotoxins, though not one of the governments has ever publicly confirmed the tests or results. Officials at the U.S. Army's chemical-testing lab in Aberdeen, Md., wouldn't comment on the Canadian report, and refused to say whether they had tested yellow-rain samples from the Thai site.

The Canadian yellow-rain evidence—along with the still-unpublished results from British, French and Japanese laboratories—vindicates the U.S. position. Yellow rain is indeed a Soviet developed and distributed biochemical weapon. The results from Ban Sa Tong also make ludicrous the theory that yellow rain is only bee feces.

#### FEDERALISM

### HON. LEE H. HAMILTON

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 8, 1986

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, I would like to insert my Washington Report for Wednesday, April 2, 1986 into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

#### FEDERALISM

Over the years, Hoosiers have often expressed to me their lack of confidence in the federal government. They believe that it is badly run, that its policies are poorly implemented, that it is mired in bureaucracy, and that it intrudes too much into private activities. At least since the mid-1970's, Washington has been sympathetic to these complaints, and has tried to deal with them, with mixed success, through a wide range of proposals to reorganize, reduce and improve government. One area these complaints are being taken seriously is in the relation between the states and the federal government.

The division of responsibility for governing between the federal government and the states is fundamental to our constitutional system. The balance of responsibility between the states and the federal government is constantly evolving. It is not the type of issue that can be resolved once and for all because it depends on the political and economic trends of the period. In the last decade, after nearly fifty years growth in federal responsibility, a transformation

has taken place; as the federal role diminishes, state and local governments have gradually assumed greater responsibility for many domestic policies.

The shift in responsibility from the federal government to the states has been accompanied by a drop in federal aid to the states and localities. In 1980, federal aid made up a quarter of all revenues of state and local governments. It now makes up a fifth. Assistance has dropped from 15.5 percent of the total budget and 3.4 percent of GNP in 1980 to 11.2 percent of the total budget and 2.7 percent of GNP in 1985. The heaviest cuts in federal spending in recent years have been among the state and local assistance programs. The budget proposed by the President for 1987 would continue this reordering of federal budget priorities. Federal aid to state and local governments, which has been declining since 1978, could be cut even more over the next several years under the new federal deficit reduction plan.

President Reagan came to office promising to adjust the relationship between the federal and other levels of government. In 1982 he proposed a major reordering of responsibility. As part of that plan, the federal government was to swap all responsibility for welfare in exchange for becoming the main health care provider. The federal government, which runs Medicare for the elderly and disabled, was to take over Medicaid for the poor. In turn, state governments were to take over Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) and the Food Stamp Program. A second part of the plan would have consolidated more than forty other forms of federal aid to state and local governments and gradually reduced federal aid for them. As that happened, state governments could either levy their own taxes and continue the programs or let the programs expire. The plan failed, partly because the states were uneasy about having to assume the welfare burden, and partly because the states viewed it as a reduction in aid, not as a way to sustain programs.

Even though this swap failed, the President has had significant impact on the federal/state balance of power. The changes add up to a large increase in state influence. States now have greater discretion to spend money allotted under the new block grant setup and a larger role in job training. Less regulation and administrative oversight for many federal domestic programs and changes in Medicaid have improved states' ability to cut and control costs. More significant is the underlying shift in perception of what the federal government can do. With few exceptions, the federal government is no longer expected to create programs to correct domestic problems.

The role of state governments has been enhanced in several ways. State and local officials have become policy innovators in areas formerly dominated by the federal government. Workfare programs, in which recipients "pay back" benefits by doing public service jobs, have been introduced in 39 states with promising results. States are experimenting with new ways to provide quality, affordable health services, setting up community-based alternatives to nursing homes, encouraging preventive health care, and ensuring that the poor have access to health services. Many states have instituted reforms in their school systems, including competency tests and merit pay for teachers, tougher graduation requirements, and longer school days. States and local communities are competing aggressively for outside investors. States use tax incentives to en-



courage corporations to invest in blighted urban areas, and state-sponsored private corporations are providing investment capital. Virtually every state is seeking new ways to help those with marginal income find homes they can afford. In these and other domestic policy areas, the states have emerged as the new engines of innovation.

Overall, I am favorably impressed by the resurgence of state and local governments. The character and the degree of this resurgence varies from state to state, but the shift seems to be both important and lasting. As the President and Congress search for ways to reduce the deficit, state and local officials will be asked to assume a greater role in U.S. domestic policy. As federal aid shrinks, state and local governments will increasingly have to rely on their own resources. I doubt that the federal government will have the fiscal flexibility either to take responsibility back from the states or to increase funds to them, at least in the near future. I do have the uneasy feeling that many local and state governments may not have the resources to fill the gaps left by federal budget cuts. That means the new federalism must be monitored closely to assure that important services are not dropped. I also expect that local governments will increasingly look to their state capitals for assistance as the federal government pulls back in domestic areas.

At every stage of our political and economic development, the question of the relation of the states to the federal government will be addressed anew. For now, state and local governments are taking on added duties and importance.

### INSURANCE COMPANY ACCOUNTING QUESTIONED

HON. JAMES J. FLORIO

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 8, 1986

Mr. FLORIO. Mr. Speaker, I recently inserted in the RECORD an article regarding questions raised about the manner in which insurance company reserves are reported. I am here inserting three subsequent articles from the Journal of Commerce on this subject and on insurance industry accounting in general. These articles report on the doubts of regulators and accounting experts about current industry practices.

Mr. Speaker, with the country now in the midst of a crisis in the availability of liability insurance, this somewhat technical issue takes on great significance. Responsible officials cannot begin to deal with the insurance crisis if they cannot get accurate data. For example, if we rely on incomplete data, we could be hit almost without warning by a wave of insurance company insolvencies leaving unpaid claims and widespread economic damage in its wake.

I hope these articles will help inform my colleagues about this important issue—an issue with very serious implications.

[From the Journal of Commerce, Mar. 25, 1986]

### BOTH SETS OF UNDERWRITING BOOKS UNDER FIRE

(By James Nolan)

For arcane reasons dating to the 1920s, the commercial insurance industry keeps two sets of books.

But now, with the industry under pressure to reform its underwriting practices, both accounting systems are coming under heavy fire.

Public companies report to both the Securities and Exchange Commission and to state regulators. However, mutual companies, owned by their policyholders, report only to the states.

The rationale is that the reports to the SEC serve the investment interests of stockholders. Reports to the states are supposed to assure policyholders that companies can and will pay claims.

Evidence is mounting that for myriad reasons both reporting methods are falling far short of their goals.

Recent events show statutory reporting rules in the states are being applied unevenly and enforcement of the rules is sporadic.

In Iowa, the insurance commissioner says he can't trust accounting reports filed with his office, particularly by companies in questionable financial health.

In California, legislation is pending to call on independent third parties to certify the statutory accounting reports. Regulators want more intense scrutiny to protect policyholders.

Early this month, the National Association of Insurance Commissioners denounced lenient state accounting techniques established by their predecessors.

A pervasive discontent with statutory insurance industry bookkeeping has been simmering for two years. The issue came to a boil in January when Cigna Corp., the nation's second-largest property/casualty insurance company, boldly announced an enormous accounting change.

In a press release, Cigna said it was adding \$1.2 billion to its reserve account for the payment of future claims.

What Cigna didn't say was that it was putting only \$600 million in cash into the fund. The balance would come from interest income over the years on the cash. That is to say, the reserves would be discounted.

State insurance regulators permit discounting only for workers compensation reserves. With compensation payments, the pay-out stream for the future can be calculated with a great deal of precision.

For general commercial liability, discounting on a future that is highly uncertain isn't accepted. The reserves must be put aside dollar for dollar.

Peter W. Gillies, Connecticut insurance commissioner, uncovered Cigna's discounting when he questioned the firm by telephone. His discovery came in the last week in February, the eve of the March 1 deadline for the insurance industry to file financial statements with the state regulators.

In Connecticut and Pennsylvania, Cigna's state of domicile, regulators said Cigna did indeed file statements with the discounting entries on the books.

At the moment, both states are conferring and a decision on accepting the statements is expected momentarily.

In California, however, Bruce Bunner, insurance commissioner, flatly warned Cigna and any other company of like mind in mid-February that if they submitted financial statements containing discounted reserves,

the filing would "be construed as the filing of a false or misleading financial statement with intent to deceive, which is against the law."

Cigna went ahead and filed the statements with the discounting reports included. In mid-March California sent the statements back to Cigna and ordered that the offending numbers be stricken from the reports.

Coincidentally, the Securities and Exchange Commission signaled discontent with insurance industry the discounting issues also.

The American Institute of CPAs, the governing body for the profession, formed a committee this year to study the issues and make recommendations.

G. Michael Crooch, a partner at Arthur Andersen & Co., one of the nation's largest accounting firms, said that "traditionally, insurance companies have been under-reserved. If you discount, the reserves will be lower still."

The problem for the CPAs, Mr. Crooch said, is to reach common ground with actuaries, the professionals within the companies who work out the complex formulas for establishing reserves.

The gulf separating the two accounting systems can be seen specifically in the SEC reports for 1984. The Travelers Insurance Co., the nation's third largest public underwriter, told the SEC it was discounting more than \$700 million reserves, mostly for workers compensation.

Questioned later, Travelers said it dutifully reported the transaction in its state reporting. But the \$700 million bookkeeping entry did not appear in summaries of the statutory accounting reports published by the A.M. Best Co., and industry rating and reporting service.

A Best spokesman said the clerks who go over the voluminous state accounting reports and type them into computers do not always pick up all of the accounting entries.

[From the Journal of Commerce, Mar. 25, 1986]

### HISTORY OF ACCOUNTING IN INSURANCE ANALYZED

Double entry bookkeeping was perfected in Venice about 500 years ago.

The basic idea is that every transaction has two sides, a debit and a credit. When tens of thousands of transactions are separated this way, there is a marvelous check on the honesty of the accounting system. It's called balancing the books.

But quicker than you can say "green eye shade," skillful accountants learned to economize with the truth and make the books say other things.

Thus, the independent audit was devised. An outsider stands between buyer and seller and attests to the accuracy of the books.

In the insurance industry, the history of accounting has taken strange turns.

There has been state regulatory accounting for all insurance companies for some 60 years. But over the years the bookkeeping paths have divided for publicly held stock companies and mutual companies owned by the policyholders.

After the stock market crash of 1929, President Roosevelt got Congress to pass the Securities and Exchange Act in 1933, establishing the Securities and Exchange Commission. The basic charge to the SEC was to oversee the accounts of public stock companies, including some in insurance.

Now, public insurance companies keep books as ordered by the SEC. A third party

audit by independent certified public accountants is mandated.

But, on the so-called convention, or regulatory financial statement filed by insurance companies with the states, there is virtually no independent third party analysis of the books. The accounting reports are submitted by company officers, with the word of a notary public that they are, indeed, the officers.

State regulatory examiners go over the books, but as a New Jersey insurance commissioner once said, "we are outmanned and outgunned by the companies."

In a few states, CPAs are brought into the picture. They add separate comments to the statutory statements. But the CPAs do not feel easy about it by any means.

The American Institute of CPAs has begun a special study to determine what is good and bad about how the insurance industry actuaries set up reserves to pay claims, the largest single item on the liability side of the balance sheet.

[From the Journal of Commerce, Mar. 14, 1986]

#### PROPERTY/CASUALTY RESERVE DISCOUNTING HIT

(By James Nolan)

State insurance regulators "are very unhappy" with the prospects that property/casualty insurance companies "are discounting reserves all over the lot," said John E. Washburn, Illinois director of insurance.

Mr. Washburn said the discounting issue was of major concern at a number of committee meetings during the Western Zone meeting of the National Association of Insurance Commissioners in San Francisco this week.

The discounting of reserves argument was thrust to the fore last month when it was revealed that the Cigna Corp. the nation's second largest property/casualty insurer, was adding \$1.2 billion to its reserve account for an array of commercial lines of insurance.

Cigna said the \$1.2 billion was only half in cash. The other \$600 million of reserves to pay future claims would come from interest income on the cash.

After the NAIC meeting Mr. Washburn said that the regulators from the 50 states assembled in San Francisco were "very apprehensive already about the quality of the industry reserves. We must determine how widespread the practice is. We need a full scale look at this because of the obvious effect it has on the reserves."

Because all of the state departments are swamped at the moment with financial statements from hundreds of companies, it can not be determined which, in particular, are discounting, Mr. Washburn said.

"But in our shop, we are devoting all of our attention to the problem," he said.

The volume of the paper work is huge and most state departments are grossly understaffed.

In New York, for example, one of the better-staffed departments, each examiner must read 60 financial statements, each of which in some cases can run to several hundred pages.

Cigna made its announcement one month before the March 1 deadline for companies to file their statutory accounting data with the state regulators.

As events unfolded after the Cigna news, Bruce Bunner, California insurance commissioner, sent a blistering warning to all companies licensed to do business in California.

"It appears," Mr. Bunner said, "that a growing number of property and casualty insurers are reporting unpaid losses and loss adjustment expenses (reserves) on a discounted basis in their statutory financial statements."

He said that such discounting of loss reserves "overstates statutory net worth."

Mr. Bunner concluded that the filing of financial statements that included discounted reserves for anything other than workers compensation claims "may be construed as filing a false or misleading statutory financial statement with intent to deceive, which is against the law."

In another pressing concern, the commissioners began work in San Francisco on an unforseen problem with a new claims-made form adopted by the industry.

The new Commercial General Liability form specifies conditions for a so-called "long tail" form of coverage, that protects a policyholder against claims that arise after the policy period ends.

The "tail" to be purchased by a corporation may run up to five years.

But now in court cases, the question has been raised that if the insurer that sold the long-tail coverage goes insolvent, will the responsibility fall to the state guaranty fund to pay claims? An amendment to the NAIC model law government guaranty funds is expected to be developed.

#### THE VOICE OF WISCONSIN'S THIRD DISTRICT

HON. STEVE GUNDERSON

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 8, 1986

Mr. GUNDERSON. Mr. Speaker, few sessions in recent history have been as crucial as this one in determining America's future. With the passage of the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings deficit reduction legislation, Congress is now mandated to finally put to death a legacy of financial carelessness which has left our Nation with hundreds of billions of dollars in yearly deficits. It's quite clear, though, that this crisis can be solved only with the cooperation and shared effort of all Americans.

I'm proud to say, Mr. Speaker, that the people of Wisconsin's Third District have broadcast their commitment to the discipline necessary to end \$200 billion annual deficits. They have clearly demonstrated their willingness to take their eyes off their own special interests and focus instead on what's necessary for the continued prosperity of our Nation.

Earlier this year, I mailed my legislative questionnaire to all Third District residents, giving them another opportunity to express their opinions on many of the major issues of this Congress.

Those who responded spoke loud and clear on the urgency to reduce the deficit. Over 62 percent—more than four times those who selected any other issue—named deficit reduction as Congress' top priority for this session. What's more, a solid two-thirds favored deficit reduction through spending cuts, rather than tax increases.

Of those responding, a majority wanted these cuts carried out in all Government programs, with no exemptions. This concern for

fairness was also reflected in their feelings on Social Security and Medicare. Fifty-five percent of the respondents said all Government entitlement programs' cost of living adjustments should be frozen, rather than just those of Federal retirees' pensions. And almost two-thirds favored Medicare eligibility based on need as well as age.

My constituents even expressed their concern for rising deficits in their attitudes on foreign affairs. They chose our foreign trade deficit as Congress' top foreign policy priority.

Mr. Speaker, like many of my colleagues, I view the results of this annual survey as one of the many tools that I will use to ensure accurate representation of my constituents. It's my responsibility to speak for the Third District in this Chamber. In that regard, today I submit the complete results of my 1986 general legislative questionnaire.

#### 1986 QUESTIONNAIRE

Total participants: 2,456.

1. This year will be dominated by "deficit reductions." Such action should be achieved through:

	Number	Percent
Spending cuts	1638	66.7
Tax increases	87	3.5
Combination	731	29.7

2. If cuts are to be made, which areas should be exempted from cuts:

	Number	Percent
Low-income programs	759	30.9
Agriculture	626	25.5
Assistance to local governments	317	12.9
Veterans programs	594	24.2
Education	527	21.4
Defense	363	14.8
Senior citizen programs	761	31.0
No programs should be exempt	1,020	41.5

3. While the Farm Bill has been enacted, government will still play a major role in agriculture through implementation of the bill. The federal priority in 1986 should focus on:

	Number	Percent
Regulating imports	1,371	55.8
Changing the Tax Code	1,068	43.5
New ag technology for the family farm	430	17.5
Credit assistance for needy farmers	719	29.3

4. Recent actions have seen federal retirees lose their cost of living adjustment (COLA) for 1986. At the same time, Social Security recipients received theirs. To be fair, in the future:

	Number	Percent
All COLA's should be frozen	1,280	54.4
None should be frozen	445	18.9
Maintain present policy	629	26.7

5. With the recent increase in federal outlays for Medicare, some have suggested eligibility for Medicare should be based on financial need, not just age.



	Number	Percent
Agree.....	1,583	65.8
Disagree.....	822	34.2

6. Economic development is of vital importance to western Wisconsin. The government can best assist in this development by:

	Number	Percent
Reducing deficits and interest rates.....	1,676	68.2
Providing government loans and grants.....	216	8.8
Providing more training and retraining.....	373	15.2
Promoting manufacturing industry.....	1,217	49.6
Promoting tourism.....	520	21.2

The first chart lists the number of participants who selected each item as first priority, second priority, etc. The second chart is a ranking calculated as follows: each first priority vote is worth 7 points, each second priority vote 6 points, etc.

7. What are the most important foreign policy issues facing us today? Please rank in priority, with the most important first.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Terrorism.....	492	527	500	288	158	68	7
Foreign trade deficit.....	1,001	578	291	138	104	69	9
Arms control.....	579	516	359	197	152	141	18
Central America.....	140	324	438	471	311	100	6
Khadyf and Libya.....	63	141	267	369	497	336	33
South Africa.....	16	55	121	221	360	801	54

#### WRITE-IN SELECTIONS

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Cut foreign aid.....	43	5	7	6	3		
Prevent Comm. expansion.....	10	3					
Middle East.....	9	3		6	1		
U.S.S.R.-U.S. relations.....	3	6					
World hunger.....	6	1	3				
Illegal aliens.....	5		3	4			
Increase foreign aid.....	3		1	1	3		
Environmental concerns.....	3	1		3			
Support freedom fighters.....	3						

#### Foreign policy priorities for 1986

Rank and Item:	Score
1. Foreign trade deficit.....	12,941
2. Terrorism.....	10,875
3. Arms Control.....	10,488
4. Central America.....	8,137
5. Khadafy and Libya.....	6,294
6. South Africa.....	4,667
7. Cut foreign aid.....	399
8. Middle East.....	108
9. Prevent Comm. expansion.....	88
10. Illegal aliens.....	66
11. World hunger.....	63
12. U.S.S.R.-U.S. relations.....	57

8. The top priority of this session of Congress should be:

	Number	Percent
Deficit reduction.....	1,544	62.9
Tax reform.....	377	15.4
Improving our agricultural economy.....	419	17.1
Foreign trade deficit.....	280	11.4
Environment.....	66	2.7
Arms control.....	281	11.4

#### CONGRESSIONAL SALUTE TO THOMAS P. RALEY

#### HON. ROBERT T. MATSUI

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 8, 1986

Mr. MATSUI. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call my colleagues' attention to a very special businessman and community leader who will be honored on April 7, 1986 for his many years of civic involvement and contributions with the Torch of Liberty Award from the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith at a testimonial dinner in my Sacramento, CA congressional district.

Mr. Thomas P. Raley, who will receive the highly prestigious award, is owner and chairman of Raley's Supermarkets/Drug Centers, one of the largest supermarket chains in the Nation. Widely known as one of Sacramento's first and foremost entrepreneurs, he built his business from its humble, single-store beginning in 1935 into a massive 47-store operation today.

Throughout his career, Mr. Raley has been widely recognized as one of the leaders in the grocery store business, especially for introducing several innovations, including self-service meat sections, drug services and development of the superstore concept. But that leadership in the industry also has extended to his hometown through involvement and support for a number of civic organizations and community groups. He has been a long-time supporter of the Crocker Art Museum and the Stanford Home as well as numerous other humanitarian and social causes.

In addition, Mr. Raley has been honored by numerous active and successful community groups and organizations for his many contributions of time, talent, and resources, including his appointment in 1985 to the Junior Achievement Greater Sacramento Chamber of Commerce's Certificate of Appreciation for his support and involvement in that organization's programs and activities. He has also received the Good Scout Award from the Golden Empire Council of the Boy Scouts of America.

On behalf of the people of Sacramento, I would like to congratulate Mr. Raley on the recognition he has received and thank him for his many efforts to making our community a better place to live and work.

#### BUSH WRONG ON OIL PRICES

#### HON. BARNEY FRANK

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 8, 1986

Mr. FRANK. Mr. Speaker, among the more glaring hypocrisies that flourish in our public dialog today is the one which holds that the free market was a wonderful device for setting oil prices when it sent them upward, but that Government intervention becomes essential if the free market sends prices in the opposite direction.

The recent venture by Vice President BUSH to persuade the Saudi Arabians to cooperate in keeping oil prices from dropping was one of

the most flagrant examples of this glaring inconsistency. I have made a hasty search of various texts which preach the advantages of the free market. In none of them did I discover chapters—or even footnotes—which asserted that the virtues of the market do not apply when commodity prices are going down. To argue, that the free market must be allowed to set energy prices, and then to call for various forms of government intervention when that free market behaves in ways that the oil producers find inconvenient, is hypocrisy of the most basic sort.

If Vice President BUSH wants to act as a representative of the oil producing interests, he ought to find a more appropriate forum from which to do that than the Vice Presidency of the United States. And those Members of the Congress who are clamoring for oil import taxes and other forms of Government intervention to prop up oil prices ought to go back to 1981 and before and re-read some of their own rhetoric about the virtues of the free market. Or perhaps, since their own understanding of the free market appears flawed, they would profit by reading the attached editorial from the Boston Herald which makes the point against intervention to prop up oil prices quite cogently.

[From the Boston Herald, Sunday, Apr. 6, 1986]

#### FIRM COURSE NEEDED IN OIL-PRICE "CRISIS"

By far the worst move the White House could make to deal with the unchecked slide in oil prices would be to heed the counsel of those aides and experts who see it as a "crisis."

They'd like President Reagan to help solve the problem either by talking Saudi Arabia into cutting production, thereby starting prices on the way up again, or imposing an import fee on foreign oil to help U.S. oil firms weather the storm—or both.

Thus far, despite the dissenting voices of Vice President George Bush and Energy Secretary John Herrington, Mr. Reagan is, we are told, committed to allow supply and demand, rather than political tinkering, set the price structure.

We urge him to continue on this course, because the overwhelming weight of the evidence proves its wisdom.

Consider what the 30-cent-a-gallon cut in the cost of gasoline and heating oil in the past few months will mean if it holds for the rest of the year.

It will enable the average consumer in this state to save a minimum of \$360 on fuel for his or her car and home.

It will reduce the energy expenses of private industry by hundreds of millions of dollars, generating jobs and still more prosperity in the process.

It will give cities and towns some small measure or relief from other rising costs and the shrinking supply of federal dollars.

It will hold the annual inflation rate to 1.7 percent, encourage lower interest rates and lop an estimated \$30 billion from the nation's trade deficit.

And, forgive us, but all these boons are made sweeter by the fact that they are in large part coming at the expense of OPEC nations, whose oil prices from the early 1970s to late 1985 were nothing less than highway robbery committed on the rest of the world.

We waste no worry on them—but yes, we are concerned about the hardship the price

cuts are causing our major oil-producing states—Texas, Oklahoma and Louisiana. They're being hurt by wholesale layoffs in the oil industry and in smaller businesses dependent on it for their livelihood. They're being pinched by the loss of a large chunk of the tax revenues that they relied on those companies to pay.

Their prospects for improvement aren't helped by the reluctance of the industry to spend money on exploring for new wells while oil prices are so low.

However, we cannot agree that government should impose an import fee—or any other type of subsidy-in-disguise—to help U.S. drillers out of the doldrums. American consumers in all 50 states, not overseas producers, will foot the bill for that in one form or another.

That's not an answer; it's a handout—of a kind the president has consistently and rightly opposed. Massachusetts and other industrial states proved that when they thought, and fought, and conserved their way out of hard times during the years of oil shortage. Texas, et al, deserve the same chance now.

# TRIBUTE TO SHEILA BURKE

## HON. TONY COELHO

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 8, 1986

Mr. COELHO. Mr. Speaker, the entire community of Merced, CA, shares in the pride stemming from the appointment of Sheila Burke as Senate Majority Leader ROBERT DOLE's chief of staff. Sheila was raised in Merced, in the county I also call home, and attended school there prior to pursuing her college education and political career.

As this article from the Merced Sun-Star reflects, Sheila has quickly earned respect and admiration as the first woman to hold the position of the top aide to the Senate majority leader. I join in offering her my own congratulations and best wishes.

[From the Merced (CA) Sun-Star, Mar. 10, 1986]

BURKE: FORMER MERCEDIAN IN POLITICAL ARENA

Former Mercedian Sheila P. Burke, named chief of staff for Senate Majority Leader Robert J. Dole (R-Kan) in early February, has proven someone from a small town can make it big in Washington.

Described by the Washington Post as "the most powerful woman in the vast, invisible machine that supports the work of the Senate's 100 visible components," she is believed to be the first woman to hold the job—"one of the most influential, exacting and exhausting staff positions in Congress."

Burke believes it is not unusual for someone from a small town to accomplish this. "It's possible for someone from a small community to do this who works well in the field and who has the technical experience to move into this kind of job," she said.

After graduating from Merced schools, Burke worked as staff nurse for Alta Bates Hospital in Berkeley. Nine years ago, Burke became program director of the 40,000-member-National Student Nurses Association in New York, filling in as a medical-sur-

gical nurse on weekends at Manhattan's Doctors Hospital.

Her expertise in politics brought her to the attention of staff members of the Senate Finance Committee at the time Dole was looking for someone with medical experience to be his aide for health issues.

As Dole's legislative assistant, she was responsible for preparing legislative proposals and amendments on matter regarding health, welfare, social security, and women's rights. This position also gave her first-hand experience working with constituent problems and developing issue memoranda for the Senator.

Her practical and political experience as a nurse paid off in her work on dramatic changes in the health field including hospital prospective payment systems and major changes in Medicare.

Burke is known in Washington as being remarkably open and having excellent judgment on what will work and what will not. She gives the appearance of working with unusual calm, with an assured command of the issues, and a confident can-do attitude.

She served as a staff member of the Senate Finance Committee from 1979-82, while earning a master of public administration degree from Harvard's Kennedy School of Government.

She also served as a research assistant in the school's center of health policy and management and service as a visiting lecturer, and on the adjunct faculty of Georgetown University, University of Pennsylvania, and Marymount College in Arlington, Va.

From 1982-84, as deputy staff director on the U.S. Committee on Senate Finance, she supervised staff members responsible for all the income security programs including Social Security, Aid to Families with Dependent Children, supplemental security income, and disability insurance.

She also served as the main staff contact for health issues before the Finance Committee, including Medicare, Medicaid, maternal and child health, and peer review organizations.

She had major responsibility for evaluating legislative proposals, drafting committee documents, legislation and presentation of income security issues to committee members.

From 1985-86, she served as deputy chief of staff for the office of the Senate Majority Leader.

According to Burke, "My most important job is being sure Senator Dole is prepared—and with both sides of an issue." Understanding the perspective of the different players and where they may be willing to compromise is the other crucial component in moving legislation through.

Long days are routine for Burke, married to David Chew, a high-level official and deputy to the president.

They were married in Merced three years ago. Chew was on Dole's staff previously and worked for Donald Regan when he was Secretary of the Treasury.

Burke, 35, moved from San Francisco to Merced when she was 10, and attended Our Lady of Mercy schools here. She attended college at the University of San Francisco, a Jesuit institution, where she received her nursing degree.

## LIBYAN ACTION AND WAR POWERS

### HON. LEE H. HAMILTON

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 8, 1986

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, I would like to bring to your attention a public statement and a letter sent by the chairman of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, DANTE FASCELL, to President Reagan concerning the recent incidents involving United States naval forces off the coast of Libya. Also, included with these observations by Chairman FASCELL is an article by J. Brian Atwood, published in the Washington Post on March 30, 1986.

As Chairman FASCELL explains, the United States had the right to conduct naval exercises in international waters. However, he has raised questions pertaining to the requirements of the War Powers Act which must be addressed in order to obtain a full understanding of the President's use of U.S. forces in the Gulf of Sidra starting on March 24, 1986.

The President argued, subsequently, that the War Powers Act did not apply in the case of the U.S. maneuvers in the Gulf of Sidra, but Mr. Atwood's article points out that there were legal reasons in this instance to raise the War Powers Act.

It is critical for the Congress to know all the circumstances surrounding the use of U.S. forces. There is understandably deep concern about the aggressive and contemptible actions taken by Libya, but Mr. FASCELL's letter and remarks, with the argument of Mr. Atwood's article, points out that there were important considerations of legal and constitutional procedure which must be considered in examining United States actions as well.

I encourage my colleagues to consider the questions Chairman FASCELL raised and the views expressed in Mr. Atwood's article.

The press release, letter, and article follows:

STATEMENT OF THE HONORABLE DANTE B. FASCELL, MARCH 24, 1986

The attack on Libyan missile sites—no matter how justified they may appear in light of Qudhafi support for terrorism and other aggressive actions—raises serious questions and concerns, especially in relation to the War Powers Resolution.

The United States has the right to conduct military exercises anywhere in international waters and it would be wrong to let an irrational dictator like Qudhafi unilaterally determine where the boundary of those waters lies. If deliberately provoked, the United States also has a right to respond to armed attacks from Libya.

A calm and rational review suggests the clear possibility that this incident could erupt into a significant conflict resulting in the loss of American lives.

My concern in this matter also relates to full compliance with our nation's laws and constitutional procedures, most appropriately the War Powers Resolution. To my knowledge, for example, the administration has not consulted with Congress on the policy which produced this situation as required under Section 3 of the Resolution. Further, to the extent that U.S. armed forces have now clearly become involved in



hostilities, I would expect the administration to provide a War Powers Report.

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS,  
Washington, DC, March 24, 1986.

THE PRESIDENT,  
The White House, Washington, DC.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: Your recent policy decision involving the deployment of American naval forces off the coast of Libya has been a matter of great concern to me. That concern was heightened this morning by reports that an American aircraft was fired on by a Libyan missile.

I write you in the context of my oversight responsibilities for full implementation of the War Powers Resolution. As the original House sponsor of that legislation I have an abiding determination to assure full compliance with the law.

Like you, I recognize that the actions of Libyan leader Qudhafi are contemptible in every respect. His repeated support for terrorism and his direct aggression against neighboring states merit the world's harshest condemnation.

In pursuing policies intended to offset Mr. Qudhafi actions, I am sure you would agree that we must respect and abide by our own laws and constitutional procedures. In that connection, I believe your Administration's actions in the Gulf of Sidra have failed to adequately satisfy the requirements of the War Powers Resolution.

As demonstrated by today's reported attack, these deployments constituted from the outset a situation where imminent involvement in hostilities was a distinct possibility clearly indicated by the circumstances even prior to today's development.

Under the circumstances, prior consultation with Congress was required under the War Powers Act.

In view of these circumstances, I respectfully urge you to comply fully with the provisions of the War Powers Resolution before the situation evolves further.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

DANTE B. FASCELL,  
Chairman.

[From the Washington Post, Mar. 30, 1986]

CONGRESS: BYPASSED AGAIN  
(By J. Brian Atwood)

When the chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, Rep. Dante Fascell (D-Fla.), complained last week that the administration should have consulted with Congress under the War Powers Act over the conflict in the Gulf of Sidra, he received little support from his congressional colleagues. The president's provocation of Libyan strongman Qudhafi was in its early stages a popular move that received strong bipartisan support. Reference to the War Powers Resolution must have seemed to many a throwback to Vietnam-era concerns.

But Fascell was correct in pressing the legal case. The resolution created a procedure to bring Congress into the fateful decisions involving war and peace. If the administration felt no need to consult Congress in the case of a popular engagement, can we expect any more when troops are committed in more controversial circumstances? Perhaps Fascell's legal position will be more appealing in the situation evolving on the Honduras-Nicaragua border.

The administration's attitude toward the War Powers Resolution was expressed explicitly by Secretary of State George Shultz during the Lebanon crisis. He angrily called it an unacceptable constraint on presidential power and subsequently called for its repeal.

It is even more revealing to consider the maneuvers of the administration lawyers who planned the last Gulf of Sidra exercise in 1981.

No one in the working group convened to plan the exercise doubted its purpose. The intention was to provoke Qudhafi while challenging Libya's bogus territorial claim to the gulf.

It was felt that a strong rationale had to be developed to get around the resolution's requirement to consult Congress "in all possible instances" when hostilities are "imminent" or clearly indicated by the circumstances. The methods chosen should be instructive to today's Congress.

The lawyers asked the Pentagon to review the military plans and determine the likelihood that U.S. forces would become engaged in combat. If the "probability of conflict" rose to 50 percent or above, then, according to the legal construct, consultations with Congress were required. Not surprisingly, the Pentagon's computers never produced a probability-of-conflict scenario reaching the threshold.

Then the Navy sought a change in the "rules of engagement." They wanted to allow Navy pilots to fire on Libyan planes when they "locked on" with their radars, indicating they were targeting U.S. aircraft.

This request was abandoned when the lawyers suggested that a change in the rules of engagement would demonstrate that the administration knew in advance that hostilities were "clearly indicated by the circumstances." The Navy apparently took the view that it was more important to avoid congressional consultation than to gain a slight edge. In any case, when the anticipated engagement took place on Aug. 19, 1981—and two Libyan aircraft were destroyed by two F-14s—Pentagon spokesman Gen. Philip Gast was able to claim that U.S. pilots were "adhering to the rules that U.S. aircraft would be adhering to anywhere in the world."

Once again in 1986, administration spokesmen were emphasizing the routine nature of the military exercise while simultaneously seeking political credit for the decision to use force against a tyrant. Early in the week high officials were quick to praise their president for being aware in advance that sending the Navy into the gulf could cause a confrontation. Later in a letter to Congress explaining why prior notice was not required, the operation took on the benign qualities of a "peaceful exercise" and part of a "global freedom of navigation program . . . on international waters."

Congress' reaction to the current Gulf of Sidra crisis is sure to be watched by administration lawyers seeking precedents to circumvent the War Powers Resolution. Perhaps Fascell's colleagues were intimidated by the initial popularity of the president's action. Whatever the cause, Congress cannot now afford to acquiesce in a clear circumvention of its legal prerogative.

## LIMITING FOREIGN INVESTMENT IN AMERICAN AGRICULTURE

HON. STEVE GUNDERSON

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 8, 1986

Mr. GUNDERSON. Mr. Speaker, it's certainly no secret that we have an overproduction problem in virtually every sector of the agricultural economy. For several years now, we have tried to address surplus dairy production through a series of supply management programs which have been, in large part, producer financed.

The 1984-85 dairy diversion program successfully reduced dairy production by 8 billion pounds at a savings of \$1 billion to the taxpayers.

The recently announced dairy termination program—whole-herd buyout program—will remove a total of 12.28 billion pounds of milk production over the next 18 months. Producers who signed up for the program have to stay out of dairying for 5 years.

In short, American dairy producers have made real efforts to deal with the domestic surplus we face in the dairy industry.

You can, then, imagine their outrage when an Irish investment company, Masstock International, announced that they would be investing \$35 million in new milk production and processing facilities in and around Macon, GA, over the next 5 to 6 years.

Their plan is to establish 10 1,000-cow operation—2 this year, 3 more over the next 3 years, and 5 more over the following 3 years—all of which can be expanded to 2,000 cows at any time without new additions. Besides bottling milk, their processing facilities will produce yogurt, cottage cheese, and ice cream.

When completed, the Masstock operation will result in an 8-percent increase in the total Georgia dairy operation which presently numbers some 847 producers and 120,000 cows.

More importantly, it will singlehandedly wipe out 1.25 percent of the reduction we will accomplish through the whole-herd buyout program. Further, this sole operation will cost the taxpayers \$2 million annually simply to buy up the dairy products created by the milk it supplants.

Now, what makes a bad situation worse is that—believe it or not—Masstock has received \$4.5 million in financing through low interest, tax-exempt industrial development bonds [IDB's]. Not only do we have foreign investors building huge operations during a period of surplus production, but we're actually giving them Federal financial encouragement to make those investments.

In response to this situation, I am today introducing two bills to limit the use of IDB's and the benefits of Federal farm programs to foreign interests involved in American farm operations. Senator KASTEN is introducing the same legislation in the other body today as well.

The first bill would simply eliminate the Federal tax-exempt status of any IDB used to finance the purchase, construction, or improvement of farm property by foreign persons.

The second bill would prohibit foreign persons, except a foreign person who is operating a single small- or mid-sized family farm, from receiving any benefits under USDA crop insurance, FmHA loan, storage facility, disaster payment, price support or other Commodity Credit Corporation programs.

Obviously, at the Federal level we cannot stop foreign interests from engaging in farm operations in any particular State. However, we can eliminate any Federal incentive that might encourage such foreign investments.

The bills I am introducing today are intended to do just that and I urge my colleagues to give them their careful consideration.

### CONGRESSIONAL SALUTE TO D.W. MCKENZIE

#### HON. ROBERT T. MATSUI

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, April 8, 1986*

Mr. MATSUI. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call to the attention of the U.S. House of Representatives a very special public servant who has performed his most important job with dedication and success over a period of nearly three decades.

On March 27, 1986, friends, family members, elected officials and his working associates will honor Mr. Dee W. McKenzie, Public Works Director for Sacramento County, for his many years of outstanding service to the people of his community.

Mr. McKenzie is retiring from his position with Sacramento County without much fanfare or notice, but those of us who know how important our roads, streets and highway systems are feel a very personal sense of gratitude to him for his tireless efforts in this important area of critical infrastructure development and maintenance. During his tenure with Sacramento County, Mr. McKenzie was largely responsible for the construction of three bridges and road systems across the American River that tie important segments and suburbs of the metropolitan community together through a coordinated transportation network.

Not surprisingly, Mr. McKenzie also is the person most responsible for bringing Sacramento County out of the dark ages of sewer disposal by leading efforts to finance and construct a regional wastewater treatment plant.

Mr. Speaker, on behalf of the people of Sacramento, I would like to take this opportunity to personally thank Mr. McKenzie for his many years of dedicated service to our community and extend my personal best wishes to him and his family for a very happy and successful retirement.

### REAGAN NOT SERIOUS ABOUT ARMS CONTROL

#### HON. BARNEY FRANK

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, April 8, 1986*

Mr. FRANK. Mr. Speaker, it has sadly become apparent in the last several months that the Reagan administration has no serious interest in arms control or arms reduction. One of the areas in which agreement to control nuclear arms is likeliest is that of a cessation of nuclear tests. A verifiable agreement to stop all nuclear testing between the United States and the Soviet Union would be an enormous step on behalf of a more peaceful and stable world. An end to testing would give some assurance to people that newer and more terrible—and potentially more destabilizing—weapons were not being developed.

In recent weeks, the Soviet Union has been far more forthcoming on this issue than it has been in a long time. The Soviets have been observing a moratorium on testing, and have been far more willing than previously to discuss the critical issue of verification. We cannot be sure that the Soviets are interested in signing a fully verifiable treaty to ban all nuclear tests, and, tragically, because of the apparent lack of interest in the Reagan administration in achieving this goal, we may never know what the Soviets are willing to agree to.

President Reagan and his national security advisors have become more and more clearly hostile to the notion of negotiating an end to nuclear tests. Large majorities in both Houses of Congress have urged the administration to get on with the issue of nuclear test bans. But this administration continues to refuse to support the work of its Republican predecessors in the area of nuclear tests. The President will not agree to ratification of treaties already agreed to, and he will make no serious effort to negotiate a comprehensive test ban.

It is official policy of this Government to oppose nuclear proliferation but a government which insists on continuing nuclear testing, and refuses to explore the seriousness of a Soviet offer of a ban all tests, has little persuasive force in trying to lead others into a nonnuclear commitment.

William V. Shannon, former American Ambassador to Ireland, is a very thoughtful and independent analyst of American foreign policy. He has by no means been uniformly critical of the President, and indeed, in his recent article published in the Boston Globe headlined "An Opportunity for Arms Control, but the President is Not Listening," he makes statements partially supportive of the star wars program with which I disagree. There are other statements in there with which I and others might take issue, but the central point of Mr. Shannon's article is a telling and undeniable one: President Reagan does not appear to be seriously interested in arms reduction.

I ask that Mr. Shannon's article be printed here.

AN OPPORTUNITY FOR ARMS CONTROL, BUT  
THE PRESIDENT IS NOT LISTENING  
(By William V. Shannon)

The prospects are poor for a significant agreement between the United States and

the Soviet Union to reduce the number of nuclear weapons. President Reagan has resumed weapons testing in Nevada and rejected the Soviet proposal for a comprehensive nuclear test ban. He believes that further testing will enhance America's relative military strength.

The new Soviet leadership headed by Mikhail Gorbachev wants to stabilize the military competition at existing levels. Since the gross national product of the Soviet Union is little more than half that of the United States and since the technological gap between the two economies is widening, Gorbachev and his associates would presumably like to cut back on military spending and shift resources to more productive uses.

The Reagan administration sees this as an opportunity not to slow down and possibly halt the arms race but to "close the gap" between ourselves and the Russians. There is no doubt that the Soviet Union by a sustained drive has achieved what can be seen as military superiority over the United States. It has more long-range missiles on land and in submarines, and more warheads. In terms of medium-range missiles and warheads aimed at Western Europe, it has more than the British and French combined, plus US cruise and Pershing missiles.

With regard to conventional forces, the Russians outnumber the North Atlantic Treaty Organization in Western Europe, deploy a sizable army along the border with China, and have several divisions fighting a nasty little war in Afghanistan.

It is equally true, however, that this military superiority is not sufficiently great to guarantee the Soviets victory in a major war. A nuclear war remains an adventure in mutual suicide.

When there is an arms race under way, military planners on both sides can always see the need for testing new weapons. The United States, for example, is now working on a new missile to be launched from submarines that will be powerful enough and accurate enough to reach every land-based missile site in the whole of the Soviet Union. If work proceeds on the Strategic Defense Initiative ("star wars") project, this country might eventually have a defensive system strong enough to blunt any Soviet counterattack.

Both the new submarine-launched missile and "star wars" are immensely attractive if one assumes, as military planners tend to do, that a major war is inevitable. A halt to testing new offensive weapons and new defensive systems makes sense only if one assumes that a nuclear war would be an unimaginable catastrophe and that it is the first duty of statesmen to try to diminish the possibility of its occurring.

Although President Reagan unquestionably and sincerely thinks of himself as a man of peace, it is not at all clear that he has thought through the implications of nuclear warfare. Unlike all of his post-World War II predecessors, he has consistently given arms control a low priority. He has opposed every arms-control agreement beginning with President Kennedy's Limited Nuclear Test Ban Treaty in 1963 and including President Nixon's Antiballistic Missile Treaty and the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT I) in 1972 and President Carter's SALT II in 1979.

Reagan has been obsessed with notions of American military weakness and of Soviet cheating. Soviet strength, and Soviet aggression. Only the other day he was recalling in an interview American military maneuvers



in 1941 when some soldiers were using wooden sticks for lack of sufficient rifles.

If the details of on-site inspections could be worked out, a comprehensive ban on all nuclear testing could dramatically slow the arms race and be a long step toward a more stable peace, it would be another great gain if both sides reaffirmed the ABM treaty and banned antisatellite weapons in outer space. Except for Edward Teller and the coterie of young scientists gathered around him at the Livermore Radiation Laboratory in California, physicists are overwhelming of the opinion that defensive systems in space would confer no lasting advantage that the other superpower could not overcome.

The chief value of "star wars" is that it has made the Soviet leaders more amenable to discussing arms control. If "star wars" were sacrificed now in exchange for a Soviet agreement to scale down the number of nuclear warheads on longrange missiles and bombers from about 10,000 on each side of about 1,000, the savings in money and the gain in mutual confidence and stability would be enormous. But this will not happen.

In President Reagan, this country has a leader who hears the trumpet call of the cavalry and dreams of victory.

#### RETURN TRIP TO CENTRAL AMERICA

#### HON. VIN WEBER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 8, 1986

Mr. WEBER. Mr. Speaker, one of my constituents, Mrs. Linda Westrom, recently traveled to Central America a second time to see the changes occurring in Nicaragua, El Salvador, and Costa Rica since her trip in 1984.

As we continue to prepare ourselves for another vote on aiding the Nicaraguan democratic resistance, I urge my colleagues to read Mrs. Westrom's report. Her first-hand report reiterates the importance of these countries to the future of her people and to the United States. The future lies in our support of efforts to ensure that these people retain their right to basic civil liberties.

The report follows:

REPORT ON CENTRAL AMERICAN TRIP, COSTA RICA, NICARAGUA, AND EL SALVADOR, JANUARY 18-28, 1986

(By Linda Westrom)

#### PREFACE

In November 1984, I visited the countries of Mexico, El Salvador and Nicaragua. This was with a group sponsored by the Augsburg College Center for Global Service and Education. It was a trip purported to show us the root causes of poverty and injustice. What it proved to be was a liberal, biased message telling us that the root causes of poverty and injustice was the "evil, capitalist United States." Another participant, Jane Otten of Big Fork, Montana, and I wrote a report on our findings of this trip, which was printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD on April 16, 1985.

In January 1986, I again visited El Salvador, Nicaragua, and also Costa Rica. This time the group was CODECA, Council for Democracy in Central America, led by Gay Johnson of Denver, Colorado. It was very worthwhile as I could again verify many of the facts and feelings from the first trip.

The United States is so vast, that we often forget that the countries in Central America are sovereign nations because of their proximity to one another. To us geographically, they seem similar to our states.

#### COSTA RICA

Costa Rica is a small, agricultural country of 2.5 million people. They are a democracy and important ally of the United States. National security, foreign policy and economic policies are prime topics of discussion in this country.

#### PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS

At the time of our visit, the presidential election was two weeks away. The enthusiasm of the people in the campaigns was marvelous. Children were included, giving away pamphlets and flags. According to the Editor of La Nacion, Eduardo Ulibarri, there was not a major issue in this campaign as the two parties had a high degree of consensus. Corruption had become a minor issue, with charges of different kinds.

There was a consensus between the parties that an economic policy is vital. Costa Rica has a debt of four billion dollars. According to Ulibarri, the government previously thought that it was cheaper to import than produce, and to pay for the imports, credit was obtained and then Costa Rica could not pay the credit.

#### CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

The Chamber of Commerce in Costa Rica is now 70 years old. The Chamber President, Armando Guardia, listed their objectives, "First in our minds is the interest of our country. We defend private enterprise. There is no liberty or democracy without private enterprise." They are trying to change the tax codes to encourage private investments. Unfortunately, they cannot change their geographical location. As Leonard Ferris of the Chamber told us, "North Americans are geographically ignorant. They come down here, interested in investing, but when they realize that Nicaragua is right next door, they leave on the next plane and take their money with them."

An additional burden on their economic stability is the large number of refugees flooding in from Nicaragua. The refugees are willing to work, but there are not enough jobs available for both Costa Ricans and refugees.

#### NATIONAL SECURITY

Foreign policy and national security are linked together, and the major cause for alarm is Nicaragua. Costa Rica did assist the Sandinistas to come to power, and Costa Rica still carries a balance of 100 million dollars which the Sandinistas owe them.

Because Costa Rica has no standing army, they must depend on their civil guards, about 4500, and their rural guards, about 3500. Thus, the massive buildup of men, armaments and air power in Nicaragua is exceedingly ominous.

Foreign policy as linked to the United States is good, Ulibarri told us. "We have similar values, interest, and political values. Here, it is unpopular to be against the United States." In addition, he said, "We do not see pressure from the United States in foreign policy (as related to Nicaragua), although we do in economic policies." However, a note of wariness was evident as he told us that some Costa Ricans would like the United States to solve Costa Rica's problems. They would like the United States to invade Nicaragua or to prevent Nicaragua from invading Costa Rica. "We are some-

what skeptical of the degree of commitment, however. The United States' stand in international affairs is not necessarily a longstanding policy.

Foreign policy in regards to their other neighbors is good. Panama, for instance, has a national government with no desire to expand so there are good relations there. Also, there are good, strong relations with other Central America countries, especially, the three who have had elections, Guatemala, Honduras, and El Salvador.

The Catholic Church in Costa Rica is free and uncensored. Archbishop Ramon Arrieta spoke to us one evening. His comments on the coming election were that the church tells the people that we are going to elect many people and to be sure to choose the best.

#### NICARAGUA

Nicaragua has now become the country of the "haves" and the "have-nots". The "haves" are now the Sandinistas, who have effectively extended their system of controls to exclude the "have-nots" who comprise those who do not embrace the party line 100%. The problems are rife, the blame is easy to place—always the United States.

The Sandinista flag is displayed beside the National flag of Nicaragua. The Sandinista party army has effectively become the national army. The spy system, or the CDS block system, has systematically put everyone in reach of the Nine Comandantes.

#### MISKITO, SUMO AND RAMA INDIANS

The Miskito Indians know all too well the results of opposing the controls of the Sandinistas. After Somoza was ejected, the Miskito Indians were willing to work with the Sandinistas for a better Nicaragua. Too late they realized the cost. Their autonomy was ignored, their culture was ignored, their livelihood was ignored, they were persecuted for their religious beliefs, their claims to their land were ignored. At first, they fled their land, but then they returned to fight back, this time with bullets.

Now, even though the Sandinistas have publicly stated their government policy was a mistake, Miskito Indians question the validity of the Sandinistas' statements. In visiting with two Miskito Indians they questioned, "If they admit they were in error, why are they still committing these atrocities against us? Why are they still persecuting us for our religious beliefs? Why did they promise to accept our claims to our land, and then deny them the next day? Why do they still take our homes and or businesses?"

One of our group asked if he could get to the east side of Nicaragua, where the Miskito, Rama and Sumo Indians live. According to the Miskito Indians we spoke to, he would have to come across the sea. Later, in visiting with a journalist from La Barricada, the Sandinista's party-line newspaper, she told us of a plane which goes from Managua to the east side. But, permission must first be obtained from the Ministry of Interior, the plane holds only 30 people, goes once a week, and preference is given to people who live on the East side.

The Miskito Indians and also a man from the FDN whom we spoke to, asked for our aid. They asked for food, uniforms, and socks and boots. They asked for medicine, communication equipment, boats, motors, guns and ammunition. They specifically and repeatedly stated they do not want United States people to fight for them. They are willing to do the fighting, they said, and the dying. The Miskito Indians and the man

from FDN want their children to live in freedom and accept the fact that they themselves may have to die to accomplish this.

They also feel that this is a conflict that Nicaraguan citizens must solve. In total contrast, the journalist from La Barricada, and Martin Vega, from the Ministry of Foreign Relations deny citizenship to any who fight against the Sandinistas. The contras are regarded as mercenaries who fight for a foreign country, we were told. The Cuban, PLO, East German, Libyan and Russian presence were either ignored or not considered foreign countries. The only ones that the Sandinistas will negotiate with, they said, is the United States.

#### CENSORSHIP

Censorship is a major tool of the Sandinistas. Last October 15, 1985, the Sandinistas took further measures. The Catholic Church is now forbidden to be on the radio, (television access had been previously denied.) A bulletin issued from the Catholic Church was seized on the grounds it was hostile to the Sandinistas. To justify seizing this bulletin, the Sandinistas changed articles, re-printed it on church letter-head paper, and then seized it.

According to the journalist at La Barricada, they also do not like the censorship. "However", she said, "it is necessary, because we are at war and have political foes, who are always pretending to attack. Everyone should be responsible for censorship so as not to cause chaos. Those who transgress should be fined or closed. This is not the way it is now, but that is what we want. The irresponsibility of La Prensa is affecting everybody and the freedom of the press. People need accurate information, but La Prensa is only provoking unrest and upheaval. As an example, La Prensa wrote about the price of sugar, and that it would be rationed. So, people went out and bought it, to hoard it, and the price went up. Barricada also wrote about it, but with information to get a better system. We explained that the cane fields are lacking for workers and that we need to have more workers to get more sugar. Where are the workers? They are at war, out fighting."

#### RATIONING

It is now illegal to speak of scarcities, which also include butter, milk, and meat. Food is rationed and each person gets 4 oz. of rice and 1 lb. of beans. Clothing is also rationed and each person gets 2 shirts, 2 pairs of pants, and 1 pair of underpants in 6 months. A ration card is received for attendance at block meetings. Water is also rationed now. The water is turned off two days a week, from 7 a.m. to 10 p.m.

Personal rights are non-existent if you are a have-not in Nicaragua. The private people that we spoke to in Nicaragua, heads of non-Sandinista unions, professional people, all mentioned the lack of habeus corpus. Most said that they, too, had been in Sandinista jails. They were all aware that at any time of the day or night, they could again be picked up by the Sandinista soldiers, their businesses confiscated, given a number instead of a name and thrown into jail.

#### INFLATION AND ECONOMY

The economy of Nicaragua is reflected by the inflation and is a major problem for the people. At the airport, travelers must exchange \$60 into cordobas, with the rate of exchange at 28 cordobas to \$1.00. At the Intercontinental Hotel, where we stayed, the exchange rate was 750 cordobas to \$1.00.

The black market rate now ranges anywhere from 900 to 1200 cordobas to \$1.00.

A law was recently passed that everyone must put their cash in a bank, and use a checking account.

There are 5 major laws pertaining to the economic system. 1. Law of export. This empowers the government to have a military monopoly on exports. The people sell to the government and the government then sells the produce where and as they wish. 2. Law of imports. People must buy from the government and cannot import for their own business. 3. Law of internal trade. The government tells people what price to sell for, from whom to buy, to whom to sell, when to sell and where. 4. Finance system. The banks are monopolized by the state and this also includes insurance. 5. National system of salaries. People are permanently "pigeon holed" in 28 categories. To be promoted, an entrepreneur must ask permission of the labor industry.

Any job application now includes questions on class extraction, political and ideological background, if the person fought against Somoza, and who with and why or why not.

The national debt of Nicaragua now stands at 6 billion dollars, which does not include the military debt. Contrary to the propaganda of the Sandinistas, the economy was deteriorating long before the contra activities began taking a toll.

Eso and Shell signs are still seen, and Nicaragua still can buy from these companies. However, one man said, "these companies are very business like"—in other words, they expect to be paid.

Several members of COSEP signed and sent a critique of the economic system under the Sandinistas to the Nine Commandantes in October of 1981. For their efforts, some were put in jail for up to seven months, and others managed to leave the country just ahead of the Sandinista soldiers.

#### FREEDOM OF RELIGION

Freedom of religion is almost non-existent now in Nicaragua. The Sandinistas state that they have no official religion. They insist that God does not exist. Oddly enough, they also insist that God is against the Revolution. Thus, they have a standard reply for all situations.

Although Nicaragua is predominantly Catholic, there are also Protestant denominations who have been repeatedly harassed. Campus Crusade, Child Evangelism Fellowship, the Nicaraguan Bible Society, Assembly of God are among these. Jimmy Hassan of Campus Crusade for Christ reported in a recent article that the Sandinista authorities told him, "The problem is that you preach to young people about Jesus Christ, and because of that, they separate themselves from Marxism. And we will never permit this in Nicaragua." This was borne out by a billboard in Managua which proclaimed that God is against the Revolution.

There are Catholic priests who claim to have no problems with the Sandinistas, who have not been harassed, or censored.

According to Msgr. Carballo, there are 320 priests in Nicaragua and 15 are for the Sandinistas. In addition, there are priests in Nicaragua who are not officially registered with the Catholic Church of Nicaragua.

One recent mass, organized by the Sandinistas, paid homage to and used the photos of guerrilla leaders who had died and were now proclaimed as heroes. The Columbian terrorists who assassinated the 12 magis-

trates were also hailed as heroes. We were told of baptisms in which the child was baptized in the name of Carlos Fonseca, a Sandinista who died in 1976.

The appointment to the office for Cardinal for Obando y Bravo was dismissed as a contrived and political appointment, the Sandinista people told us.

Cardinal Obando y Bravo faces many harassments, including having his mail censored, speaking invitations delivered too late, telephone calls at odd hours, death threats and limited mobility.

#### CONTRAS

The Contras, or freedom fighters, came into existence under several different people. One was Eden Pastora, who had been a Sandinista leader. He had been instrumental in the taking of the National Palace in 1978. After the 1979 takeover, Pastora became disillusioned and left Nicaragua in 1981. According to the Sandinista authorities now, Eden Pastora was not a "true revolutionary and did not understand the full depth of the Revolution."

Propaganda of the Sandinistas says that the Contras consist of former National Guardsmen who are fighting to return to the old days under Somoza. In actuality, in the Contras, there are 13 National Guardsmen and these held a rank lower than captain. In addition there are 53 MDs and there are 43 former Sandinistas, according to a spokesman from the FDN.

The Sandinistas point to their "accomplishments" in the decrease in infant mortality rates, of being named a model government in health care by WHO.

The literacy campaign boasts that now people can sign their name and read up to a 6th grade level. When asked about the textbooks and their content, such as: 2 grenades plus 2 grenades equals 4 grenades, the reply was: "Education is not neutral. Look at these books for yourself." But to see them, we would have to go to the Nicaraguan Embassy in Washington, D.C.

When questioned about the huge national debt, the human rights violations, the reply of the Sandinistas was to point to other countries who had larger debts and more human rights violations.

#### FUTURE FOR PEOPLE

Repeatedly we were told by Nicaraguan people that they, too, fought against Somoza. They, too, gave the Sandinistas a chance to prove that as they had been good revolutionaries, they could govern well. But now they realize that the Marxist-Leninist line had been from the beginning. Now they recognize that the Sandinistas have formed a totalitarian government. "Other people in South America talk about us and we don't have the right to talk about ourselves," they told us.

No one wanted to go back to Somoza's dictatorship, or even make comparisons. But many felt that those days were not as oppressive, or devoid of human rights as now. Fear makes it difficult to live and work, we were told. Some regretfully admitted having doubts about trusting their own family members.

In capitalism, one man told us, he who does not work does not eat or have a place to live. But, under Communism, if you do not obey, you do not eat or have a place to live.

#### EL SALVADOR

El Salvador, also, has a history of juntas, coups and violence, and the last revolution was in 1979. Since that time, there has been



an effort to stabilize the country by strengthening the economy, by free elections, and by respecting human rights.

Although they have made progress, they do have problems, and complex problems.

#### AGRARIAN REFORM

The Agrarian Reform which took the land from the large land-owners and gave it to the peasants is still in the first phase, the coop phase. The smallest acreage taken over by the government was 40 hectares although most acreages seized were 500 hectares or more. The landowners were paid with 25% cash and 75% bonds. As of yet, title to the land remains in the coop, and not with the peasants.

Even though peasants had worked the land for years, they were woefully lacking in management skills. Organization, bookkeeping, bank loans, marketing were new skills that needed to be learned, and quickly. Because these problems had not been anticipated and planned for, production dropped. This in turn, resulted in more economic problems for the whole country.

The coffee growers who before marketed their own coffee on an individual basis, no longer do so. The government buys the coffee and markets it. The coffee growers are protesting that the incentive to take the financial risks to grow the coffee is no longer there. Also, the growers feel that coffee is not being marketed by people with know-how and is only being used a political tool.

At the same time that the land was taken away, the banks were nationalized. No forewarning was given, soldiers marched in and told the employees that the banks and all furnishings now belonged to the state.

#### GUERRILLA MOVEMENT

Coronel Hernandez of COPREFA, the press arm of the military, gave us a view of the guerrilla movement which still exists in El Salvador. Helped by Cuba and Nicaragua from the beginning, the guerrillas originally numbered about 15 thousand men. But because the Salvadoran army has become better trained in guerrilla warfare, the guerrillas now number 4 to 6 thousand men. The guerrillas have also changed their tactics. Before, they would stop traffic and extract a "war tax" from motorists, and would also stop the agricultural products from getting to market. The Salvadoran army now has regular patrols and guards in key areas and roads. This has forced the guerrillas to resort to small groups who commit acts of sabotage, especially of electricity and communication.

#### HUMAN RIGHTS

Human rights violations was and is major concern. At the height of the Death Squads, murders numbered up to 800 a month. Human rights improvement thus became a contingent of aid from the United States. We visited the Commission of Human Rights and talked to Sonja Mundoz. There are 3 offices located in different parts of El Salvador where people can come and report human rights violations. This group visits the security forces daily, and records names of captives. These prisoners can be kept in a garrison for 15 days. During this time, private interviews can take place, family can take medicine, clothing and food to them. If they are sent to another place, the Human Rights group keeps track of them. The figures given by the Human Rights Commission of atrocities are those that they have verified.

If Salvadoran soldiers are involved in atrocities, they are discharged from the army and then tried by a civilian court.

Interestingly enough, the guerrillas will not allow the Human Rights Commission to investigate atrocities committed by guerrillas.

Progress has been made in human rights. A small thing, but important, is that policemen now wear visible ID numbers.

#### FREEDOM OF SPEECH

Freedom of the press is alive and well in El Salvador. President Duarte had made the rate of exchange official in El Salvador—5 colones to \$1.00 and the black market was 6 colones to \$1.00—and also frozen the price of the Family Food Basket. Many people disagreed with this, and were on TV giving their viewpoint.

The newspaper that we visited, *El Diario de Hoy*, often disagrees and says no. One group took out a subscription to this newspaper in the name of President Duarte.

#### FREE ELECTIONS

March of 1984 was a major stepping stone for the people of El Salvador. Elections, free elections, were held, and Duarte was elected President. Then, in March of 1985, free elections were held to elect a national assembly.

Although El Salvador is a very small country with a large population, they would like to be completely self sufficient. Many people we spoke to acknowledged the assistance of the United States, and also acknowledged that they still need our help.

#### PRESIDENT DUARTE

President Duarte has been continually criticized in the media of the United States as being merely a puppet of the United States. El Salvador had had a history of upheavals, of military coups and juntas. Democracy does not come easy. As one lady put it, "He is the best of the worst."

The Arena party would like to see Duarte out of office. In meeting with their president, Freddy Cristiani, and their treasurer, Orlando Menendez, they told us their party's philosophy. They believe in private enterprise with as few restrictions as possible. The agrarian reform is a disaster, they said. The majority of the population is below 40, and education is badly needed. Because the economy is struggling, most children must work in agriculture and cannot finish school. Then, too, there are not enough schools to meet the need.

#### DISPLACED AND REFUGEE CAMPS

The uncertainty and upheaval produced by the guerrillas sabotage and fighting have resulted in approximately 500 thousand people who have left their homes. Those who have left El Salvador are termed refugees, and those who have re-located are termed displaced people.

Because these people regarded their moving as temporary, the government has no policy or regulations in regards to camps. Some families have gone to relations and resettled themselves. But approximately 5 to 8% end up in a camp. There is a constant movement from camp and camp, and some families have been in their camps up to 5 years. Now the government has instituted the Ministry of Planning to bring order out of this chaos.

People living in these camps have chosen sides, either the guerrilla side or the government side. If they are linked to the guerrilla side, they go to the private church camps. If they are linked to the government side, they go to the government run camps.

Aid comes to El Salvador for these people from about 45 different organizations, from

the Red Cross and the UN, and denominational church groups. The private church groups are of the few teaching the people a trade to enable them to be self supporting.

The problems surfacing in these camps are many. Although these people receive only the most basic needs, there is a growing dependency on these handouts. Families have been disrupted, and fathers are not there to give families stability. There is delinquency, prostitution and drug and alcohol abuse. And, because the economy is down, there are fewer jobs available for all Salvadoran people, resulting in a lack of motivation for these displaced people.

#### PROGRESS

Even though El Salvador is often portrayed in our media as war-torn and in constant upheaval, there is progress being made. Particularly noteworthy is the people who are returning to El Salvador to work for their country's future. These people had lived and worked in the United States for many years, and have now moved back to El Salvador. One lady to whom I spoke lives in the United States, but her children live with her ex-husband in El Salvador. When I asked if she didn't miss them, she replied "Yes, but I think there are too many freedoms in the United States. It is better for them here."

El Salvador contends with the guerrillas being aided by the Sandinistas of Nicaragua, and they are very aware of the political ideology of the Sandinistas. Coronel Hernandez stated his belief that the Sandinistas do not have the people's support in Nicaragua, and that El Salvador must help the contras, not militarily but in other ways. Both he and Rolando Monterosa of *El Diario de Hoy* told us that if the Sandinistas are successful, their next stop will be El Salvador.

#### SUMMARY

In Central America, Nicaragua has become the focal point. In the American hemisphere, Nicaragua has become the focal point.

Even though her Sandinista Marxist/Leninist history is brief—since 1979—she has gained world-wide notoriety.

The phrase "Revolution without borders" applies to the Sandinista Marxist/Leninist movement. This alone makes her neighbors exceedingly nervous. The traditional Latin American dictator is harmful for his people, but not for his neighbors, as Armando Guardia of Costa Rica told us.

Terrorism. Kidnapping. Hijacking. Murder. Each has been linked to the network of which Nicaragua has become a part.

Disinformation. Nicaragua has not only employed a public relations firm in the United States to disseminate disinformation, but has also had assistance of the expertise of the USSR KGB.

Throughout history, indecisiveness is catastrophic. We of the United States need to make a decision. Will we assist Nicaragua to become a model for the world—the first country who won against Communism. Or will we continue to vacillate, giving the Sandinistas more time to further oppress Nicaraguan citizens.

We must help the Contras, the Freedom Fighter, the Miskito Indians, the Rama and Sumo Indians. These people deserve the right to participate in governing themselves, to have freedom of religion, to have freedom of speech, and above all, to have freedom from fear. One member of our group put it in perspective, that this is really a fight for men's souls.

NATIONAL GOVERNORS' ASSOCIATION POSITION ON SUPERFUND

HON. JAMES J. FLORIO

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 8, 1986

Mr. FLORIO. Mr. Speaker, the conference committee is currently considering the many important issues involved in final legislation to extend and expand the superfund toxic waste cleanup program. The States have been partners with the Federal Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) in the implementation of this program and have many valuable insights to share with us.

Recently, the National Governors' Association wrote to members of the conference committee to explain its priorities for the final legislation. The NGA letter underscores the importance of strong, specific uniform national cleanup standards in the legislation as well as the procedures that will guarantee meaningful State involvement in the cleanup process. I recommend the NGA position to my colleagues as the Congress continues to develop final legislation.

NATIONAL GOVERNORS' ASSOCIATION,  
March 13, 1986.

HON. JAMES J. FLORIO,  
U.S. House of Representatives, Rayburn  
House Office Building, Washington, DC.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN FLORIO: The Superfund hazardous waste cleanup program is the cornerstone of the nation's effort to protect the public health and the environment by correcting past mismanagement of hazardous wastes, and the National Governors' Association strongly supports its reauthorization as a top priority of this Congressional session. As Chairman and Vice-Chairman of the NGA Energy and Environment Committee, we are writing to ask your attention to several issues which are critical to the states and to the success of the Superfund cleanup effort. In particular we urge you to:

Adopt the provisions of the House bill regarding cleanup standards. The Governors strongly support the presumption that applicable or relevant and appropriate state or federal standards will guide cleanup decisions. Under the House bill the EPA Administrator retains sufficient flexibility to waive such standards when there is a substantial evidence as to the necessity of meeting a different level of cleanup, but we believe better, more permanent cleanups will result when existing standards are used.

Maintain the opportunity provided by the House bill for "substantial and meaningful involvement" by the states in the initiation, development, and selection of the remedial action to be undertaken. This should specifically include an opportunity to review and comment on the remedial investigation and feasibility study, the planned remedial action, the engineering design, and relevant technical data and reports, as well as notice and an opportunity to participate in settlement negotiations.

Preserve permits issued under state law as provided by the Senate bill, for both on-site and off-site cleanups. During House markup the Governors also argued strongly in favor of maintaining permits under federal law, with the exception of permits under Subtitle C of the Resource Conservation and Recovery Act where remedial action is

taken on the site of the release. We do not believe that state or federal permits will be a substantial cause of delay in cleanups, yet they will be instrumental in ensuring that the public is adequately protected in the event incineration, underground injection, or other remedial measures transfer waste residues off site or into other media.

Adopt the provisions of the House bill establishing a response program for the release of petroleum into the environment from an underground storage tank. Leaking underground tanks represent a serious and growing public health threat, and we believe the time has come to address this problem.

We know that the decisions you must make in reauthorizing Superfund are difficult, but the national interest requires a full five-year reauthorization of this important statute. We would like to work you in the weeks ahead to secure the reauthorization, and hope you will contact us if we can be of any assistance. We have enclosed a copy of the NGA position on Superfund, and will very much appreciate your consideration of our views on these matters.

Sincerely,

GOVERNOR ANTHONY S. EARL,  
Chairman, Committee on  
Energy and Environment.

GOVERNOR ARCH A. MOORE, JR.,  
Vice-Chairman, Committee on  
Energy and Environment.

SUPERFUND

The Governors believe that the protection of public health and the environment requires a major and very long-term commitment from businesses, the federal government, and the states to clean up abandoned and leaking hazardous waste sites, spills, and other releases of hazardous and toxic substances. As the next step in this commitment, the Governors urge the Congress to expeditiously reauthorize and extend for five years the Comprehensive Environmental Response, Compensation, and Liability Act (CERCLA/"Superfund"). In reauthorizing this important law, the Congress should address the following issues:

**Response Trust Fund.** The Governors urge the Congress to reauthorize and expand the Hazardous Substance Response Trust Fund. The fund should be increased to at least \$9 billion so that it will be adequate to address the sites on the national priority list and new sites, including hazardous waste facilities which may close before final RCRA permits are issued. At least one-fifth of the total trust fund amount should be made available each year. To develop additional revenues for the Superfund, the Governors recommend that the petroleum and chemical feedstock taxes, which are the mainstays of the existing fund, be increased. In developing any other revenue sources, the Governors favor taxes which create economic incentives for minimization and proper disposal of hazardous wastes as a preferred alternative to increasing the general fund share of the Superfund program beyond the current level.

**State Response Funds.** It is imperative that the states have adequate resources to carry out their responsibilities under Superfund and to respond to situations in the absence of EPA action. CERCLA should be amended to repeal any preemption of the development or use of state trust funds, including those based on chemical feedstock and waste-end taxes, for purposes related to environmental protection and restoration.

**State Role.** The Governors believe that centralized decision-making has unnecessarily slowed the Superfund program, and that

public health protection demands quicker response actions. The remedial action program is particularly cumbersome and should be streamlined. The Superfund program can be made more efficient if the states and regional offices are given larger decision-making authorities than they currently have. In particular, states should have the option to take the lead role in planning and implementing Superfund response actions, with a right of first refusal to assume the lead at particular sites. State concurrence should be required before EPA or responsible parties undertake any removal or remedial action under CERCLA. The law should allow states to develop a statewide generic response for sites on the national priorities list, and the administrator of EPA should be required to approve such programs within a reasonable period of time or show cause why he has not done so. Once this program has been approved, the state should be able to assume full and complete responsibility for management of the cleanup effort at national priorities list sites where it chooses to take the lead. Such responsibility should include establishing priorities, undertaking remedial investigations/feasibility studies, selecting contractors, conducting removals or remedial cleanups, and similar actions.

**Cost Recovery.** The Governors urge the Congress to provide clear guidance to the EPA to clean up hazardous sites as the first priority and negotiate with responsible parties second. If negotiations have not succeeded after a reasonable period, litigation is appropriate. The current practice of the state and the federal government litigating separately to recover their respective share of cleanup costs is duplicative and wasteful. It should be made clear that states already have a cause of action to recover costs at sites where they have contributed matching funds, and the states and the EPA should be directed to agree that one or the other will have the lead in litigation for full recovery of both the state and federal shares.

**Cleanup Standards.** EPA, the states, and responsible parties have been hampered in site cleanup decisions by the lack of a clear definition of "how clean is clean." The EPA should be directed to work in close cooperation with the states to develop criteria or guidelines to be included in the national contingency plan on the level of remedial action which is acceptable to protect public health and the environment. These criteria should reflect considerations such as relevant and appropriate federal and state standards, the hazardous or toxic materials involved, the environmental pathways which could lead to human exposure or environmental damage, the population at risk at a particular site, and the cost effectiveness of optional cleanup strategies.

**State Program Grants.** The Governors believe that Superfund cleanup will be faster and more effective if the states have adequate capacity to plan and implement the program. To develop such capacity, the fund should be used to support grants to states for program development, site identification and assessment, enforcement, oversight, and administrative expenses at all sites.

**State Match.** The Governors believe there is no justification for requiring a larger state match for Superfund cleanup at sites which have been publicly owned or operated than at privately owned sites. CERCLA should be amended to provide that the match required against cleanup actions is 10 percent at all sites, whether or not owned or operated by the state or a political subdivi-



sion. The 10 percent state share for sites owned or operated by states or political subdivisions should be considered a final settlement of all liability under CERCLA for the state or political subdivision. In addition, the Governors believe that the Congress should liberalize conditions under which states may generate credits which can be used to offset the state match requirement for remedial actions. In particular, the period for which state cleanup expenditures can be credited should extend from January 1, 1978, to the date a cooperative agreement was signed or cleanup commenced at a particular site. Such credits should be useable against further cleanup at that site, or at other sites in the same state.

**Operation and Maintenance Expenses.** CERCLA should be amended to provide that the response trust fund should be used to support operation and maintenance activities for a specified period at sites after cleanup actions have been taken commensurate with the expected operation and maintenance life. It should be clear that these expenditures are subject to the same state match requirements as cleanup actions.

**Post-Closure Liability.** The Governors believe that the post-closure liability fund, established to provide monitoring and maintenance at hazardous waste sites beginning five years after closure, is not adequately funded and should be at least doubled in size. In addition, the law should be amended to extend the liability period for owners or operators from five to at least thirty years after closure. EPA should also be directed to review insurance requirements for owners and operators of hazardous waste facilities to ensure there are adequate resources available to perform monitoring and take any corrective actions necessary during the thirty years after closure. For purposes of cost recovery, the Superfund and states which have contributed matching funds should be considered priority claimants in bankruptcy proceedings against the owner or operator of any site or any other responsible party who declares bankruptcy before all closure requirements have been satisfied.

**Natural Resource Damage Claims.** The three-year window provided by CERCLA for states to file claims for damages for natural resources damage expired before the Department of the Interior published guidelines necessary to file such claims. The Department of the Interior should be directed to expeditiously develop such guidelines, and funds should be appropriated for that purpose. In addition, the window of opportunity for states to file such claims should be extended to at least five years after the date of enactment of the CERCLA reauthorization.

**Federal Sites.** Cleanup of federal sites should be expedited. EPA should have responsibility for assuring that remedial actions at federal sites are consistent with the national contingency plan. Federal site cleanups should not be financed by the trust fund.

**Petroleum Exemption.** Congress should affirm that, notwithstanding the "petroleum exemption," sites containing listed hazardous substances are within the scope of CERCLA coverage. This amendment is directed to the leaking underground storage tank problem. It is not the intent of the Governors that CERCLA apply to oil production and refining activities.

**Voluntary Cleanups.** The Governors believe that voluntary cleanup activities by responsible parties can make a significant contribution towards the nation's hazardous

waste cleanup goals. To foster such voluntary cleanups, CERCLA should provide a mechanism through which responsible parties may negotiate and sign cleanup agreements with the federal government without having to admit to causing an "imminent and substantial endangerment." These agreements must be fully enforceable and should have clauses allowing cleanup negotiations to be reopened in the event additional environmental risks are discovered, which were unknown at the time the original cleanup agreement was developed or in the event a remedial action selected proves to be inadequate to protect human health and the environment. If negotiations with responsible parties do not result in acceptable cleanup agreements within a reasonable period, EPA should undertake regular cleanup, enforcement, and cost recovery actions. This recommendation is not intended to have any effect on other parties' suits against potentially responsible parties.

**Land Disposal.** The Governors recognize that CERCLA can play an essential role in the development, application, and siting of alternative hazardous waste disposal technologies. To that end, the Governors believe that EPA should consider alternative hazardous waste disposal technologies—for both on-site and off-site application—as the preferred means of disposal with regard to CERCLA remedial actions. Additionally, the Governors believe that CERCLA should be amended to prohibit deep-well injection and land burial of hazardous wastes removed from Superfund remedial action sites unless, consistent with P.L. 98-616, EPA determines that such disposal is acceptable under specified circumstances which protect human health and the environment.

#### THE FIRST REFORMED CHURCH OF POMPTON PLAINS, NJ

HON. DEAN A. GALLO

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 8, 1986

Mr. GALLO. Mr. Speaker, the spirit of rededication is the driving force of our American dream. We look to our past as a source of strength and guidance. No matter how far we may stray from the path of the past, we will eventually return to the way that is clearly marked for us throughout our history.

Forty years before the birth of our Nation, a small band of Dutch farmers gathered together in a new land.

In April 1736, a church was founded in the plains of Morris County, NJ. In 1986, 250 years later, that church, the First Reformed Church of Pompton Plains, celebrates a landmark anniversary.

The original church was dedicated on April 7, 1736, under the pastorate of the Rev. Johannes Van Driessen. The church prospered in its early years, with a membership of 72 in the spring of 1738. A new building was built in 1771, on land donated by Theunis Dey. This new building was located on what is now Newark Pompton Turnpike—the site of the present church.

Throughout the years, the church grew physically and spiritually. One hundred years after it was built, the church was enlarged and repaired under the leadership of the Rev. John Van Neste Schenck. The church was

dedicated on November 22, 1871, 7 months after the 100th birthday of the church. It was also on that day, however, that the church family mourned the passing of their energetic minister.

Addressing the needs of parishioners from the surrounding towns, small chapels were built for the purpose of education. These chapels were located in various towns, including Wayne, Lincoln Park, and Towaco—known as Jacksonville at the time. Throughout the years, due to the growth of the mother church, these chapels came to form independent churches, most of which remain a part of the Reformed Church in America.

The decade of the 1900's brought tremendous growth to the church. With more people joining the congregation, the financial status of the church has enabled the construction of a "church house" in 1926, and a fellowship hall in 1965. But the period also brought tragedy to the life of the church, as well as growth. On October 24, 1937, little over a year after the bicentennial celebration of the church, the sanctuary was completely destroyed by fire. While the actual cause of the inferno is not known, faulty wiring seems probable. This tragic loss, however, brought out the invigorating spirit of the congregation and its dynamic minister, the Rev. Eugene H. Keator. One and a half years later on April 7, 1939, the 203rd anniversary of the church, a new building, larger than the old, was dedicated. This grand edifice, it should be noted, was completed free of debt.

In 1953, the church acquired another piece of property—the Mandeville home, adjacent to the church proper, which dates back to 1788. This old stone house, which once served as the Pompton Plains Post Office, is now the church manse.

During this special anniversary year, the congregation looks to a future of growth. Under the leadership of Rev. Andrew R. Rienstra, and associate pastor Vincent A. Fasano, the congregation renews its commitment to spreading the good news, both at home and around the world.

Spring is a time of rededication. Our religious tradition recognizes this need for renewal through the celebration that begins with Ash Wednesday and culminates with Pentecost Sunday.

On the occasion of the 250th Pentecost to be celebrated by the congregation of the First Reformed Church of Pompton Plains, we honor and recognize a tradition that is both religious and secular. Rooted in our history, it continues to grow upward toward the stars.

#### CATASTROPHIC ILLNESS

HON. LEE H. HAMILTON

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 8, 1986

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, I would like to insert my Washington Report for Wednesday, March 26, 1986, into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

## CATASTROPHIC ILLNESS

In one public meeting after another, Hoosiers tell me of their worry that serious injury or illness could lead them to financial ruin. They point out that few families have the resources to meet the cost of catastrophic illness.

Their concerns are well-founded. Although rare, medical bills for devastating cases can easily exceed \$100,000. Catastrophic illness can strike anyone, but the problem is especially severe for the elderly. More than 200,000 older persons each year are hospitalized for more than 60 days and are personally responsible for extraordinary medical costs. The cost of long-term care in a nursing home averages \$60 a day, or \$23,725 a year. Even with some coverage, illnesses such as a stroke or heart attack, or long-term disabling conditions like Alzheimer's disease or cancer, can quickly exhaust retirement funds saved from a lifetime of work.

Such costs have fueled discussion on the need for catastrophic health care coverage. Medicare, a major federal health insurance plan, is designed for acute, not long-term, illness. The 30 million older persons on Medicare have all their hospital bills covered for 60 days, after a deductible is paid. Illnesses lasting longer than 60 days can be devastating. Heavy coinsurance costs begin on the 61st day. Coinsurance can last up to 90 days longer. After that, Medicare payment ends.

Medicare patients must also worry about doctor's fees and nursing home costs. Government insurance pays part of approved doctors' charges, but, with major surgery, the remainder can total thousands of dollars. For nursing home care, Medicare pays only for short-term skilled care, not custodial care of any kind. Only after a patient is impoverished will Medicaid take over.

Almost two-thirds of Medicare beneficiaries now buy widely-advertised "Medigap" policies. These policies, costing between \$500 and \$1,500 a year, pay certain costs Medicare does not cover. Many people mistakenly believe these policies cover the costs of catastrophic illness. Many Medigap policies pay only for skilled care in a certified home and stop after 100 days, the time Medicare funds end. Insurance policies for long-term care still are not widely available.

There is broad agreement on the need for protection against the financial risks of catastrophic illness, but there are questions over how best to do so: What are the proper roles of the federal government and the private insurance industry? How should the financial burden of health care be distributed? Who should be eligible, and how comprehensive should coverage be? What are the long-term effects of different proposals? Various proposals suggest either a larger government role, greater reliance on the private insurance industry, or a mix of both.

Because of fiscal constraints, it is likely that any government plan would initially be limited to the elderly and would take up where Medicare insurance stops. One recent proposal by doctors and health care experts would expand the federal health insurance system. Its aim is to aid Medicare patients who need prolonged hospital or nursing home care, to reduce their costs, and to improve home health care benefits. Funds could come from a variety of sources, including increased social security taxes, a new tax on high income retirees, and increased Medicare premiums. Supporters stress the comprehensive coverage and widely shared costs of such a plan, while

critics worry about the new taxes and broad program expansion in an era of fiscal restraint.

The Reagan administration prefers reliance on private insurers rather than on government. The Administration's proposed voucher system would allow recipients to buy policies from private insurers and group plans, comparable to Medicare's coverage, but not for long-term care. Some private policies provide limited long-term care. Such policies typically provide benefits of between \$30-\$60 per day for up to four years coverage of skilled and intermediate nursing home care, with varying home-care benefits sometimes included. Cost ranges from \$200 yearly for limited coverage for those 55 years old to over \$4,000 for broader coverage for those 75 or older. Supporters of vouchers maintain that the marketplace will assure cost-effective delivery of medical services, while critics charge that such a system lacks comprehensive coverage and will leave vulnerable people uncovered.

Other proposals would mix public and private involvement. In his state of the Union Address, the President directed former Indiana Governor Otis Bowen, now Secretary of Health and Human Services, to find ways to provide affordable insurance for those whose life savings are at risk from catastrophic illness. I commend this initiative. Dr. Bowen, before he became Secretary, had a plan to cover unlimited hospitalization and some physician charges not now under Medicare, with a limit on patient liability. Coverage would be funded by increased premiums. It is unclear if his study, due in December, will be similar. In addition, new tax laws would encourage investment in "individual medical accounts" to insure against catastrophic illness. Congress has held hearings on catastrophic health insurance, and limited hospital catastrophic proposals are expected. Other proposals mixing public and private involvement are broader in scope than the Bowen proposal, including coverage for long-term care and dental, eye, hearing and prescription costs. Debate on these proposals centers on breadth of coverage and funding.

I am impressed by the sense of urgency with which Hoosiers discuss the problems caused by catastrophic illnesses. I am also encouraged by the new attention we are giving the problem. I have made no judgment on the various proposals, but I expect any solution to rely on both the private and public sectors. Although shrinking budgets are an important restraint, it is essential that attention be given to catastrophic insurance for both acute and long-term illness. Only then will the widespread fear of the financial impact of catastrophic illness be eased.

#### A TRIBUTE TO MAESTRO SANDOR SALGO

#### HON. TONY COELHO

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 8, 1986

Mr. COELHO. Mr. Speaker, on May 1, 1986, friends and admirers of Maestro Sandor Salgo, the music director and conductor of the Modesto Symphony, will gather to pay tribute to the maestro in honor of his 10th season with the symphony.

Maestro Salgo joined the Modesto Symphony in 1976. Since that time attendance has in-

creased dramatically, and the symphony has consistently played to a sold-out house. Maestro Salgo has also worked hard to serve the Modesto community—he regularly arranges special concerts for senior citizens and children. He also has given a number of educational presentations to the community.

Maestro Salgo has received international acclaim for his excellence as a conductor and as a music director. He has served as a guest conductor with the Royal Philharmonic Orchestra of London, the Staatsoper of Berlin, and the National Symphony Orchestra of Mexico. He received the Dinkelspiel Award from Stanford University for his outstanding service to undergraduate education there, and most recently was awarded the Chevalier of the National Order of Arts and Letters by the French Government in recognition of his contribution to French music in California.

I would like to join with Maestro Sandor Salgo's other admirers in expressing my deepest appreciation for all that he has done over the last decade for the Modesto Symphony and for the people of Modesto. I wish him continued success in the years to come.

#### THE NEVADA TEST SITE: ITS IMPACT ON THE STATE, THE NATION, AND THE WORLD

#### HON. HARRY REID

OF NEVADA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 8, 1986

Mr. REID. Mr. Speaker, the recent underground nuclear explosion at the Nevada test site has spurred international reaction to the testing program itself. This has occurred in the shadow of a test ban treaty resolution passed by the House on February 26, 1986.

I voted against the resolution. Of course, I believe that nuclear testing should eventually be stopped, but, Nevada should be protected in the process. It is critical to the State of Nevada and its people that we are provided with just compensation for the lost use of the land and the loss of jobs for at least 7,000 people.

That's why I would like to share again with you the speech I delivered on the floor of the House just prior to the vote on the test ban resolution.

Mr. REID. Mr. Chairman, Nevada is a unique State. Not only does it have the bright lights of Las Vegas and the Strip, the beautiful alpine glacial lake of Lake Tahoe, but our State is unique in that it contains the only nuclear test territory in the Free World. On my trips out to the test site I have seen the destruction and the contamination of what was once beautiful and potentially productive land. I think it is difficult to describe unless you have been there. Not only did we have the atmospheric tests in the early days of testing, but since then we have had the underground testing and the whole countryside is a pockmark of holes from 100 feet to hundreds of feet deep. Hundreds and hundreds of bombs have laid waste to Nevada's precious countryside making it worthless for future generations.

When we tested in Micronesia after World War II we allowed them to be compensated



for the damage done. The testing in Micro-nesia represents only a fraction of the testing activity we have seen over the last few decades in Nevada. We in Nevada expect the same or better treatment. This land is not only desert, it has a multitude of uses from grazing to mining to recreational activities. These economic opportunities are no longer available to Nevada.

Before I can support a comprehensive test ban it must include compensation for Nevada's scorched lands. Today I am introducing a resolution to have Congress express its sense that the United States should pay compensation to civilians working at the Nevada test site who lose their jobs due to ratification of a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty and to the State of Nevada for degradation of the land at the test site caused by nuclear weapons testing.

The Nevada test site presently employs about 7,000 men and women. If you include the support industries, the site generates nearly \$1 billion for our economy. Many have come to depend on nuclear testing in Nevada for their livelihood.

Yes, we should stop testing eventually, but we cannot do that without provisions for the many families in Nevada who have come to depend on it in one way or another. I cannot support a bill that will not compensate Nevadans for this loss as well as the state for the loss of the countryside.

Nevadans should not be abandoned. I will be introducing, as I will talk about in a few minutes, a bill to provide for compensation for our land and for our people.

We in Nevada have accepted nuclear waste disposal on our doorstep and we have put up with decades of bombing in our backyard because we knew it was in the interests of our country. We are only asking for what we know we deserve.

#### PROPOSED CHANGES TO IMPROVE TVA MANAGEMENT

**HON. RONNIE G. FLIPPO**

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, April 8, 1986*

Mr. FLIPPO. Mr. Speaker, earlier I discussed some of the background leading up to the management problems evident in the Tennessee Valley Authority today. In the near future I will be introducing legislation to improve the management structure of this agency which is so useful to the people of the Tennessee Valley and of the Nation. I want to share with my colleagues my thoughts on the proposed changes.

#### THE CORPORATE MODEL

In rhetoric and in fact, the TVA's corporate structure borrowed heavily from the corporate business world of the time of its creation as opposed to the general form for public institutions in a democratic society. No words in the act address the concepts of limitation of powers or of separation of powers inherent in the system of dual Federal State sovereignty or in the tripartite organization of the Federal Government. (The original board's attempt to divide administration of the TVA major programs among themselves is generally regarded as a disastrous experiment in management.) The Agency was even given broad blanket authority to conduct its business without the annual authorizations required of many

programs. Only through the appropriations process did those who were paying the construction bills have a voice in operations of the TVA. When the national taxpayer said "no more" in the 1950's, the self-financing act transferred this obligation for power programs to the people who lived in the region and needed the energy if the region were to develop and prosper. The role of the electric program seemed to be growing in TVA's total program.

Franklin Roosevelt in 1933 had asked for "a corporation clothed with the power of government but possessed of the flexibility and initiative of private enterprise." The TVA Act itself states, "The board shall direct the exercise of all powers of the corporation." This is similar to the concept of the model corporation statute of the 1920's and 1930's, which stated: "The business of the corporation shall be managed by the board of directors."

The impossibility of such an arrangement has since been recognized in business literature and the model statute has been changed to reflect the more realistic concept: "The business of the corporation shall be managed under the direction of the board of directors."

While private enterprise has been flexible and innovative in its approach to corporate governance, the same cannot be said of TVA. The TVA still clings to the concept that the three-member board can effectively manage the corporation (actually, any two members at any moment in time can direct the corporation). This fragments the responsibility and accountability.

The uniqueness of TVA, its roles and functions, limits the blanket adoption of the business corporate governance model for the agency. However, enough similarity to large private corporations exists—size, complexity, technical challenges, delivery of services, huge financial obligations, a large number of employees, diverse constituencies—to recommend modification of such a model of the governance structure which is found in the major business institutions in this country, such as General Motors, Ford, AT&T, and others.

The business corporation board model, with outside directors to monitor, oversee and regulate the day-to-day management by professionals, seems to offer other advantages for TVA because of the differences between the TVA and private business organizations.

TVA is not subject to the constraints of competition and the marketplace to the same extent as a business. Outside directors could provide a valuable new perspective of the feelings of consumer stockholders who must pay the bills TVA incurs.

TVA is not subject to regulatory review of its actions in its electric power operations as other utilities are. Outside directors could come closer to providing a more creditable armslength review of rate questions.

TVA does not have to respond to the pressures and probing of the financial markets

<sup>1</sup> The form of corporate governance which emerged for TVA could be said to reflect the public administration reform theme of the 20's which exalted "professional" or "technocratic" management over "political" or "people-oriented" management. This reform effort's most enduring contribution to public administration has been the strong city manager movement.

before undertaking major projects. Outside directors could effectively seek justification of need before major projects are launched.

Thus, a broader based Board of concerned members, detached from the responsibilities of day-to-day operations, could provide useful policy guidance to TVA and service some of the functions listed above which are absent under the present governance arrangements.

#### MEMBERSHIP OF THE NEW BOARD

Generally, the same statutory requirements as apply to Board members now would apply to the members of the new Board. This involves U.S. citizenship, a belief in the feasibility and wisdom of the TVA Act, and a ban on financial interests in businesses which would be adversely affected by the success of TVA (primarily electric utilities and chemical fertilizers). Additionally, a requirement for geographic diversity would be added and the prohibition against engaging in any other business or professional activity would be removed.<sup>2</sup>

Citizens of the valley, in making recommendations to the President, and the President, in proposing nominations to the new TVA Board, should also consider in candidates the other attributes commonly sought in directors for large, complex organizations. These include:

- First. Integrity;
- Second. Wisdom;
- Third. Independence;
- Fourth. A valid knowledge or experience that can bear on TVA's problems and deliberations of the board;
- Fifth. A record of accomplishment within organizations;
- Sixth. An inquiring mind;
- Seventh. A willingness to speak one's mind;
- Eighth. An ability to challenge and stimulate management;
- Ninth. An orientation to the future; and
- Tenth. A willingness to commit time and energy.

The proposal directs the President to consider for nominations the recommendation of the Governors, individual citizens, and business, industrial, labor, environmental, electric power distribution, and civic and service organizations. The proposal also calls for the President to seek qualified board members to reflect the diversity and needs of the service area, that is, no single constituency should dominate the board.

Essentially, the same political process which has applied to the selection of TVA directors for more than 50 years would still apply under the proposal. That is, interested constituencies of the TVA would make suggestions to the President who would send nominations to the Senate for public hearings and confirmation. At all points in the political process, the people of the region would still be free to express their thoughts on the nominees through the media, through their elected officials, and through other means of expression available to citizens of this country.

<sup>2</sup> To assure geographic diversity the legislation requires that three of the board members be residents of Tennessee; one a resident of Alabama; one, Kentucky; one, Mississippi; one a resident of either Georgia, North Carolina or Virginia, and one a resident of any state in the Union. Terms would be for 3 years with reappointment possible for two additional terms.

What changes is the number of board members and their potential for increased contacts with the total constituency of TVA through the larger number of board members and the location of board members at diverse geographic points within the service area.

The critical difference under the proposal is in the function and purpose of the board. While the initial TVA board evolved into a three-person policy and management entity, the restructured board's function would be to establish policy and monitor its execution by full-time professional managers.

Although the new board members may come from a specific constituency, organization, group or geographic area, as they always have, the new board and its members would reflect a broader view than the view constrained by the somewhat different perspective of day-to-day management which may have more narrow obligations and responsibilities.

Except for the few guidelines of the legislation and the report and legislative history, no quotas or other restrictions would be imposed for board membership so the President would have the greatest possible flexibility to nominate a diverse board of the most excellent people available for service on the TVA board.

The 6-month delay from enactment of the legislation to its implementation would allow the President time to select and nominate the new board members. During this period the incumbent board members would continue to serve. Nothing in the legislation prevents the President from nominating incumbent members to service under the restructured board.

#### HOW THE NEW BOARD WOULD FUNCTION

After confirmation by the Senate, the new board would be organized under the direction of the Chairman designated by the President. The Chairman would name members to the various committees the board might find necessary: a nominations and compensation committee (to seek a chief executive officer and fix compensation); the rate review committee (to review electric rate structure and changes); the audit committee (to name auditors and review audit reports) and an executive committee (to set board agendas and other designated functions).

One of the initial priorities would have to be the drafting and adoption of a set of bylaws for the board. This would define the exact duties of the committees and the responsibilities and authority of the chief executive officer. Another would be the search for and hiring of a chief executive officer to actually operate the agency. The board has great flexibility in seeking this individual either inside or outside of the TVA. (See The Chief Executive Officer, below.)

Board members would serve on two-to-five committees depending on the number of committees in being at any one time. Service on the statutory committees should generally be considered for the duration of the term of the member appointed. (See Board Committees, below.)

If monthly meetings of the full board were established, up to 48 meeting days would be available for each member to attend committee meetings and other authorized activities.

As is the case of board members in business corporations, TVA board members would

not be expected to have individual staff assistants. However, some of the board's committee functions would probably require assistance of a small permanent staff and perhaps, depending on the nature of the activity, augmentation by temporary staff from time to time.

Any attempt to completely describe board functions and operations runs the risk of either providing a potential straight jacket that fits only the current moment or being incomplete or imprecise. On the whole, the original TVA Act leans toward the latter position.<sup>3</sup>

Board members who are unacquainted with the role of boards in the corporate world would be well served by a review of the considerable current business literature on the subject.

In discussing the changing role of boards as observed in the business world, J. Spencer Letts observed in the July 1980 issue of *Business Lawyer*:

Although it has been defined in many ways, the contemplated role for the board usually contains an element which may be characterized as that of "corporate watchdog." In the performance of this role, board members would proceed from an attitude of skepticism and would be expected to raise questions broadly probing the wisdom of proposals made by management as well as the procedures by which such proposals are formulated.

The value of having the board play this role seems apparent if one presumes that management will consistently follow the profit motive and bring to the board proposals which will be in its own and the corporation's best economic interest. The role of the board would then be to raise questions to determine whether the proposals in fact would serve the corporation's economic interest and also to determine whether their implementation would contravene some larger social or moral interest, as might proposals involving the creation of pollutants or the making of "sensitive payments".

The directors would also be responsible for monitoring self-dealing by the management and making sure that corporate acts are properly recorded and disclosed so that potentially objectionable practices would be sure to receive scrutiny . . . .

The more independent the director, the more likely that he will be fully able to perform this function. While not expressed in precisely these terms, SEC Chairman Harold Williams seems to have followed somewhat this line of reasoning. His suggestions that boards of directors might best be composed entirely of independent directors other than the chief executive, have usually been premised on his view that forces working on directors who are not completely independent may cause them to be too supportive. . . .

. . . The significant contributions of directors need not be made at routine meetings. Most corporate boards in fact are simply too large to lend themselves to collective decision making, and the most important matters of necessity have been and continue to be resolved prior to the board meeting.

#### THE CHIEF EXECUTIVE OFFICER

The legislation creates a new position within TVA, the chief executive officer [CEO]. This

<sup>3</sup> In some parts where the TVA Act gets precise, such as the pay limits for employees of the agency, removal of the straight jacket has been suggested by TVA management.

individual would have the responsibility for the day-to-day management of TVA and the carrying out of policies established by the board of directors, a pattern of operation found in almost every business corporation. This is also the pattern of operation found in the electric distribution systems within the TVA area. In naming a nuclear "czar" TVA appears to be moving in the direction of a strong chief executive officer, that is, the transferring of some of the board's authority for operating the nuclear division to a single individual for at least a limited period of time.

Although the first TVA board members eliminated the concept of a statutory executive or manager which had been provided in early versions of the TVA legislation, a position of general manager was soon found useful and was created by the board in 1936.

The proposal's statutory CEO would probably acquire some of the functions of the TVA's present office of general manager and certainly some of the management functions now exercised by the three-man board.

The CEO would appoint, with the advice and consent of the board, and without regard to the provisions of Civil Service laws applicable to officers and employees of the United States, such managers, assistant managers, officers, employees, attorneys, and agents as are necessary for the transaction of the business of the Corporation. The CEO would define the duties of these people and would establish, subject to board approval, the rate of basic pay for such managers, assistant managers, officers, employees, attorneys, and agents, not to exceed the annual rate payable for positions at level V of the Executive Schedules in effect at the end of the applicable fiscal year.

The present level V rate is set at \$68,700 per year, an amount lower than some TVA executives are paid today. However, procedures to prevent reduction in pay and, under some circumstances, to provide increases in compensation over what is now allowed, are provided under section 2(h). (See Compensation and Employee Policies, below.)

The detailed definition of the CEO's responsibilities, authority and compensation would be set out initially by the board and then negotiated as to specifics into contract form by the board and the selected individual. The legislation requires the CEO have management experience in large, complex organizations. The CEO would not necessarily have to be well versed in all aspects of TVA's operations because of the exceptional quality of many of the TVA's managers and operators available to assist the CEO in management of the corporation.

The concept of compensation incentives for performance is also introduced. This is a move toward the idea reflected in some business organizations that outstanding performance should be rewarded and failure should result in penalty.

The legislation allows the board the flexibility to hire the most outstanding CEO available and provides the board with ability to reward the CEO or discharge him. Because such people are never in great supply, an outstanding CEO could exert great influence within the organiza-



tion because of the possibility the officer would retire or take some other job.

#### BOARD COMMITTEES

The legislation mandates the board establish at least two committees. The audit committee, composed entirely of nonmanagement directors, would be similar to the audit committee of a business corporate board of directors. Considerable business literature offers guidance for the new board in defining the details of this committee's obligations and responsibilities.

The electric rate review committee introduces a new concept and a new step in the rate review process for TVA. The committee's responsibilities include both rates (generally reviewed annually) and rate structure (examined as the board determines necessary but generally less frequently than rates).

The concept is for the rate review committee to function as a regulatory review body in examining the rate adjustments recommended by the management and agency staff. The committee would look at the details of the requested adjustments, the assumption behind the adjustment requests, hold public hearings on the proposals to receive the views and observations of ratepayers and make some recommendations to the full board for rate changes or rate structure changes. The board would be the ultimate decision maker on rate questions.

The difference in the proposed procedure and the existing procedure is the independence and separation of those making final rate decisions from those involved in putting the request together. The present board structure, with board members having both policy and day-to-day operating involvement in the agency, does not provide the appearance of the kind of independent rate examination to which other utilities are generally subject. Under the present arrangement, the same board reviewing and passing on rates may have already made decisions and judgments about projects, purchases, or programs which influence the factors requiring rate adjustments.<sup>4</sup>

The board could create other committees of board members as the board deemed appropriate. A restraining factor would be the number of days individual board members are authorized work each year. A restructured TVA board would probably be more active, in terms of meeting days, than the board of a private corporation. In 1983, the average private corporation board had eight regular meetings. The largest number, 31.8 percent, had between 10 and 12 regular meetings. In private corporations the average board member spent 125 hours annually on board

matters including review, preparation, meetings and travel.

Initially, during the reorganization phase, considerable time might be required of the restructured TVA board. For that reason, up to 60 meetings a year are provided in the legislation. After the reorganization phase, the new TVA board members should find an average of 30 to 40 meeting days a year adequate for regular sessions, committee meetings and hearings.

The most prevalent permanent committees of business corporations, in addition to the audit committee, include the executive committee and the compensation and nomination committee, the latter is involved in selection of the CEO and the compensation of the CEO and other executives. Other committees, temporary or permanent, might be created by the board to examine issues and hold public hearings on matters that would have a substantial effect on the economic, environmental, social or physical well-being of the people of the region.

The board would determine whether the committee functions required staff support. A small administrative staff might be appropriate to support the executive function of the board. The rate review function, because of the complex technical nature of some of the factors in rate review, probably will require permanent staff or consultants to assure the kind of independent rate review the ratepayers deserve. The only extra staff cost incurred under the new arrangement, if any, would be to the extent that current personnel levels in support of policy functions were increased.

#### THE GLOBAL ECONOMY: A THREAT TO AMERICAN POWER

HON. JAMES T. BROYHILL

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 8, 1986

Mr. BROYHILL. Mr. Speaker, I have long been an advocate of free trade and open markets around the world. Today, world markets are not open to American products for a number of reasons. At the same time, the United States is a victim of unfair and illegal imports to the tune of billions of dollars each year. These two problems have created disastrous conditions for American industry. They have also led thoughtful Americans to react strongly and advocate very restrictive actions against imports.

While I continue to support meaningful trade reform and strong action against unfair and illegal trade practices, I think it is important for my colleagues to be aware that many Americans are advocating far more drastic action. As an example, I have included for the RECORD a recent speech by William Hawkins entitled "The Global Economy: A Threat to American Power." If we do not act now to bring about reasonable reforms and better enforcement, the measures being advocated by Mr. Hawkins in the following address may be unavoidable.

#### THE GLOBAL ECONOMY: A THREAT TO AMERICAN POWER

(By William R. Hawkins)

Unemployment and business failures have drawn most of the attention from those who have been concerned by the growing foreign trade imbalance. This is natural given their immediate and visible impact. However, an even more dangerous long-term trend is in progress which, if not countered, will undermine not only the wealth but the power of the United States in the world arena.

The de-industrialization of the American economy which started under the pressure of imports from other developed economies and from the developing economies of East Asia will continue as other less developed nations attempt to accelerate the industrialization process by penetrating the affluent American market.

In many countries, the domestic market alone is too small to justify investment in heavy industry or high technology and exports become necessary if new industry is to be established in the near future. This means that the rapid advance of the Third World can only be accomplished by slower growth, higher unemployment and the decline of the industrial sector in the U.S. and other developed capitalist nations.

The leaders and partisans of the Third World understand this. That is why the demand for more open markets in America and Europe was part of the program for a New International Economic Order (NIEO), a program which explicitly called for the transfer of wealth and power from the developed capitalist nations (the West) to the Less Developed Countries (LDC) of the Third World (the South). The industrial sector of the West was to be relocated to the South and with it, its immense ability to generate wealth. In 1972, the LDCs accounted for only 6.9 percent of world manufacturing, by 1980 had growth to 15.5 percent. The NIEO target was 25 percent.

What was to replace this loss in the West was not addressed. Perhaps nothing was to replace it since the purpose of the NIEO was to narrow the gap between West and South, a process which can be pursued not only by the rise of the South but also by the decline of the West.

The U.S. and other Western nations have not agreed to dismantle their industrial bases by government decree in order to accommodate the LDCs. However, inaction on the part of the U.S. government in respect to the protection of its industrial base from foreign assault threatens to produce the same dismal outcome. Between 1980 and 1984, U.S. manufacturing exports fell 16 percent while imports increased 65 percent. Over two million jobs in manufacturing were lost. A manufacturing trade deficit of \$50 billion developed in 1984 from what had been a \$19 billion trade surplus in 1980.

The U.S. still has a manufacturing trade surplus with the LDCs, but it declined over the 1980-1984 period, just as the U.S. trade deficit with Japan, East Asia and Europe increased. As the LDCs continue to industrialize, this one regional area of U.S. surplus will erode and vanish, making the future of American industry bleak indeed.

Any change in the distribution of world wealth will also produce a change in the balance of world power. This is especially true if the economic change occurs in the industrial sector. Defense material is composed mainly of tanks, ships, vehicles, aircraft, missiles, and ordnance. All of these are made largely of metal which has been

<sup>4</sup>The TVA board function in regard to rates should completely differ from the function of the board of an investor-owned public utility. The obligation of the board of an investor-owned utility is to maximize the return to stockholders (profits) within statutory guidelines. The rate proposals are reviewed by and finally determined by state-established regulatory commissions (or in some cases the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission). Under this proposal, the restructured TVA board would perform an arms-length review of the rate requests presented by TVA's management. In effect, the restructured board would function as a regulatory body.

forged, shaped, coated, or fabricated. It is then combined with a broad range of other manufactured products as optics, electronics, chemicals and computers. The peacetime defense industry does not possess enough excess capacity to meet the demands of even a limited conflict.

In a crisis, the industrial sector will have to be mobilized to meet national needs. This means that the definition of strategic industry must be broadened beyond just the peacetime defense establishment.

In World War II, the U.S. was the only nation able to expand its output to meet not only its own needs but a substantial share of the needs of its allies without drastic reductions in domestic living standards. It is unlikely that the U.S. could repeat that performance as the "Arsenal of Democracy" today. And the capability is deteriorating. Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger stated in his 1983 Report that the "problems which remain in the defense industry are, in fact, a subset of our overall economic industrial problems."

Many strategic industries are under siege by imports which have captured an overall 17 percent share of domestic merchandise sales. Foreign producers have captured 22 percent of the U.S. market for steel, 37 percent for machine tools, 60 percent of consumer electronics, over 27 percent for automobiles, 34 percent of wide-bodied jet aircraft and over 60 percent for industrial robots.

The ferroalloy industry is near collapse. Mineral refining is moving offshore. Shipbuilding is kept afloat only by government subsidy. Threats run the spectrum from the older "smoke stack" industries to the newest "high-tech" fields. The struggle for control of world industry will be fought for the rest of this century, with the winners set to dominate the first part of the next century.

To think of international economic policy as an aspect of power politics requires a change of assumptions from those which normally govern policy-making. There are essentially three ways to think about how the world economy works. The viewpoint which currently controls trade policy is Classical Liberalism. In its system, the individual is the central actor, usually in the role of consumer.

Economic relations are harmonious and cooperative. The goal is to maximize global material benefits. Distribution of these benefits are not a major concern, nor is there any constructive role for national governments. Indeed, the hope was that economics could be separated from politics completely. The system would work best in a peaceful world without borders, an environment its advocates either mistake for the real world or enshrine as an ideal from whose worship one must not wander by invoking such lowly concerns as national advantage.

The most vocal critics of the Liberal view have been Marxists. They see the world as a struggle between classes, the minority of oppressive "have" versus the mass of noble "have-nots" which in global terms means championing the LDCs against the West. Their support for policies of redistribution and for socialist governments have had the effect of pushing conservatives into a knee-jerk support of "free trade" liberalism.

Yet, the Marxists and the Liberals have a flaw in common. Neither thinks of the world in terms of autonomous nation-states representing organic societies based on shared values and interests. Both are based

on subsets of society; individuals or classes, and thus miss the essential fact of human social organization.

A simple look around the world should suffice to convince one that the world is organized into nations with conflicting goals, scrambling to acquire wealth and power so that their goals can be attained.

Thinking of economic policy as an arm of national security in a dangerous and unstable world is the third alternative system: Mercantilism. In practice, if not in theory, the Marxists have adopted much of the thinking of mercantilism with one major difference. The Marxists are working for the decline of the U.S. while an American mercantilist works to gain every advantage possible for his country. The mercantilist can be expected to be more successful than the Marxist because the mercantilist intends to harness the dynamic, progressive qualities of capitalism for the national interest.

In 1979, the staff of the OECD published a report entitled "Facing the Future", which attempted to predict the shifts in economic power that would occur under different international conditions. It predicted that in an open global economy, the U.S. share of world GNP would fall by more than one-third, from 29 percent of 1975 to 19 percent in the year 2000.

The U.S. has certain advantages which make protectionism a viable option whereas in other nations it would not be. The U.S. has the world's largest domestic market, large enough to sustain internal competition and economies of scale while still maintaining diversification.

It already has core of basic industries and a skilled labor force. It is a leader in new technology. It needs only to preserve these capabilities from being undermined by foreign rivals. Historically the U.S. reached a position of economic pre-eminence as the wealthiest, most productive industrial state with minimal involvement in world trade and a record of protecting its domestic producers.

The U.S. should reject global interdependence. The fact that needed manufactured products could be made off-shore more cheaply does not offer a viable alternative if the potential reliability of these suppliers is examined objectively. How secure would the nation be at the outbreak of a war if 50 or 60 percent of the goods, technology, production facilities or equipment needed for mobilization had to be obtained quickly from foreign sources?

Of course, the aim of a protectionist policy is not to stifle all trade. The U.S. needs to import certain raw materials and oil and to export agricultural goods. There are broad areas of consumer goods where imports pose no strategic problems. And exports should be encouraged. The aim is to eliminate the U.S. trade deficit in a manner which preserves the industrial base of the country.

Selective protectionism is thus more logical and less damaging to trade than the solution to the deficit advocated by most free traders. Free traders usually blame the rise of the dollar's value on the world currency markets for the decline of U.S. exports and the increase in imports. While this is a contributing factor now, it does not explain the industrial malaise of the 1970s when the dollar was weak.

The policy implication of the "strong dollar" argument is that the dollar should

be weakened. This will either "automatically" occur as a consequence of recurring deficits or could be brought on by intervention by monetary authorities. However, such a move would raise the price of all imports, not just those in strategic industries and is thus a more radical approach than selective protection which would leave most of the economy untouched.

A strong dollar is a strategic asset. It makes necessary imports relatively less expensive and improves the nation's terms of trade. It also makes the maintenance of the extensive American military infrastructure and troop deployments in foreign lands less burdensome to taxpayers. Deficits will eventually weaken the dollar unless the deficits are ended by protective measures.

The U.S. is de-industrializing because it is no longer profitable to invest in the restructuring/renewing of basic industry. Competition from foreign rivals, usually made possible by cheap labor and/or government support, lowers prices and sales, thus the return on investment. Expansion in the Third World promises higher returns and attracts capital (sometimes too much capital as the world debt crisis would indicate). Transnational corporations move all or part of their plants out of the U.S., free to ship back to the U.S. whatever they produce offshore.

American industry and investors find it more profitable to put their money into areas other than manufacturing, even when new technology is available. The U.S. has the worst record of any industrial nation in terms of investment in new plant and equipment. American industry must be made profitable again. Imports must be curtailed either by quotas or by tariffs, either by negotiation or by law.

The survival of basic industries and the expansion of new high-technology firms are interdependent. A major market for high-technology is basic industry which must apply these new tools to become more productive. The pace of American high-tech industry will be slowed if it must seek its markets primarily through exports. High technology cannot be substituted for basic industry in the economy, they must work together.

Slogans about "free trade" and "automatic" market adjustments have little relevance for American security needs. Left to itself, the economy will structure itself to meet the normal peacetime desires of consumers, which is not the same structure required to meet the needs of the nation during those infrequent but decisive periods of crisis which can be expected in the future.

The United States cannot allow the actions of others to determine its destiny. The challenge confronting the U.S. is to keep its basic industry alive in the face of intense global pressures on all manufacturing sectors and to encourage new industry.

The targeting of key industries which are at the core of the American industrial base and vital to the mobilization of American strength, by foreign producers who only want to use the U.S. market for their own expansion, is of crucial concern to the future of the U.S. economy and the nation it supports. A passive non-policy which simply hopes that the problem will go away does not serve the national interest.



## ON DEFENSE PROCUREMENT

HON. JIM KOLBE

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 8, 1986

Mr. KOLBE. Mr. Speaker, although I'm not a member of the House Armed Services Committee, I have seen the statement presented by Earle C. Williams before the Senate Armed Services Committee on March 19, 1986, in which he makes a number of excellent points with respect to the defense acquisition process. As a member of the Small Business Committee, I believe the points made are of such significance that they should be shared with my colleagues.

Mr. Williams, president and chief executive officer of BDM International, Inc., called for "a framework of consensus" between the private and public sectors in the interest of an efficient and economical defense acquisition process.

He cited several instances where recently enacted procurement legislation and proposed legislative changes will not achieve improvements that are necessary in the process.

Mr. Speaker, because of the importance of this subject to the Nation's defense and to many of my colleagues, I am pleased to submit the following excerpts from Mr. Williams' testimony:

The media and others have made the topic of defense procurement a favored one for discussion, and I regret to say, they have created very unfavorable images of the defense contractors in the minds of the American people . . . The problems we have today won't go away, and constructive actions are needed to bring about a change in public attitudes.

These hearings, the legislation your committee is considering, and the Packard Commission Report all contribute to a favorable change by proposing actions which I hope will bring about the balanced and sound perspective to the procurement process that is sorely lacking . . . We should seek to have everyone involved in the procurement process—Congress, the Executive Branch, the military services, the press, and the public—understand what is involved for industry and business if we are to participate in the procurement process in an economically viable and positive manner.

The avalanche of enacted and proposed legislative changes, with topics ranging from travel expenses to false claims to criminal penalties, will not achieve the improvements we seek. Legislation prescribing operating details, which up until now have been handled administratively by DOD within the general policy guidance found in the procurement statutes, will not affect the procurement system in a positive way. We will find that the consequences of this "zero-defects approach" will outweigh the advantages that come with effective use of the private sector, namely the defense contractor community, to achieve real improvements in the current system.

DOD's procurement system is losing the flexibility, responsiveness, and quality people it needs to do the job . . . Fear of criticism is causing people to act unwisely. People are buying data they don't need because someone might criticize them for not doing it. Auditors are questioning costs, not because sound judgment requires it, but be-

cause if they don't they might be criticized . . . Then, there are in-house auditors and inspector general staffs plus the defense contract audit agency and the defense investigative service to assure enforcement of the rules and regulations . . . It's no wonder that program managers and contracting officers are no longer able to keep things moving and turn out systems in a timely and economic way.

The professional and technical services industry shares many of the concerns expressed by our colleagues in the hardware business. There are, however, several specific matters of particular concern to the services industry which I would like to discuss.

## FEDERALLY FUNDED RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT CENTERS

The enactment of the Competition in Contracting Act of 1984, Public Law 98-369, was indeed landmark legislation in terms of its impact upon the acquisition process. While espousing competition, it nevertheless permits exempting from this requirement certain organizations which provide professional and technical services, thus organizations which provide professional and technical services, thus potentially providing them with a protected market . . . The Competition in Contracting Act, authorizes the head of an agency to use procedures other than competitive procedures to award a contract to a federally funded research and development center or to a nonprofit or educational institution to establish or maintain an essential engineering, research or developmental capability.

This exemption for nonprofit institutions and federally funded research and development centers enables them to provide, without competition, professional and technical services which are available from the private sector, and may prevent for-profit companies from competing for the contract.

I recommend that the principle of effective competition be restored by removing the present exemption from competition which nonprofit institutions and federally funded research and development centers now enjoy . . . This change would preserve the unique contributions that educational institutions make to our economy and society. At the same time, for-profit firms would be able to compete with federally funded research and development centers and nonprofit institutions in those instances where all of them possessed comparable professional and technical services expertise. This would assure the government of a broader critical mass of skills from which it could draw to establish or maintain essential engineering, research or developmental capabilities.

## NON-COMPETITIVE PROCEDURES AWARDS

Another industry concern has been the deleterious effect the Competition in Contracting Act has had on the willingness of agencies to award sole source contracts in response to unsolicited proposals reflecting unique ideas . . . Companies are reluctant to advance innovative or creative concepts which are needed by DOD and the military services in order to develop systems and to solve operational problems. Unsolicited proposals submitted for those reasons, we find, are apt to emerge in the form of a competitive procurement or, in time, to be turned over to a federally funded research and development center to pursue.

## TECHNICAL CAPABILITIES AND COST

A topic of major concern to the professional and technical services industry is the issue of technical capabilities or quality of

services versus cost or "lowest bid" in the procurement of sophisticated services that are required by complex programs and systems. Quality of service should not be equated with the ability to simply deliver nominally satisfactory services. The technical capabilities of the professional and technical services sought by the client for his or her system is as critical as the equipment or manufactured component if the system is to function effectively. The professional and technical services firms that provide such services are frequently required to conceive, develop, evaluate, test, and modify systems or programs and, therefore, have a direct impact on the cost and effectiveness of the system or program being provided to the client. A \$60,000-a-year physicist retained for system design and architecture cannot be replaced by two \$30,000-a-year physicists.

It is essential that the defense acquisition process recognize that the procurement of professional and technical services is different from the procurement of equipment and other manufactured items and routine and mechanical types of services. Primary emphasis should be placed on technical capabilities.

If we are to achieve a proper balance between technical capabilities and cost when procuring professional and technical services, the Congress must include a clear, strong policy statement in appropriate legislation. The statement should underscore the legitimacy of allowing technical capability, at a reasonable cost, to be the dominant factor in procurement and selection of professional and technical services. The importance of technical capabilities in relation to cost should be reflected in the acquisition process from the procurement request stage through the source selection phase.

I wish to assure you that the best firm in the professional and technical services industry are not worried by legislative and regulatory requirements calling for competition . . . Competition, however, should be viewed as a means of improving the acquisition process, not as a religious concept.

I am concerned by a tendency, under the guise of a competitive procurement request, for agencies to include in the solicitation request requirements that are largely irrelevant to the statement of work and that serve to limit the competition . . . I point out this type of situation to the committee because I believe that it is important to assure that the procuring agencies do not intentionally or unintentionally frustrate the principles of competition when competition is truly appropriate. (These hearings) are timely and will focus attention on the need for a consensus by all involved which will establish the improved ground rules for the defense acquisition process.

## TRADE RECIPROCITY NEEDED BETWEEN IMPORTS OF JAPANESE STEEL AND UNITED STATES EXPORTS OF MET COAL TO JAPAN

HON. NICK JOE RAHALL II

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 8, 1986

Mr. RAHALL. Mr. Speaker, as the various committees in Congress involved with trade

begin to formulate a comprehensive fair trade bill, I believe we are all very much aware of 1985's record trade deficit of \$148.5 billion and the fact that one single country, Japan, is responsible for approximately one-third of this trade imbalance.

One of the major causes of the United States-Japan trade deficit is the continued and aggressive exportation by Japan of steel products into this country. Despite the voluntary restraint agreement which has been negotiated with Japan on steel, it appears that country continues to circumvent both the intent and scope of the agreement with respect to certain steel products.

For that matter, the Japanese have not honored the November 1983 Joint Policy Statement on Energy Cooperation issued by President Reagan and Prime Minister Nakasone, particularly as it relates to United States exports of metallurgical coal to Japan.

This is a matter of grave concern to myself, and other representatives of coal-producing regions. Metallurgical coal is an essential ingredient in the production of steel. The joint policy statement sought to, among other items, maintain purchases of United States metallurgical coal over future years as steel production in Japan improved.

This agreement provided the United States with an element of trade reciprocity between Japanese steel imports and United States metallurgical coal exports. After all, the United States is Japan's largest market for steel products.

Since November 1983, however, we have witnessed the collapse of what was to be a two-way street on the steel and metallurgical coal trade between Japan and the United States. Despite the fact that steel production has increased in Japan, and despite the fact that Japanese steel exports into the United States continue at a level beneficial to Japan, that country has slashed the amount of United States metallurgical coal it is purchasing and has ridden roughshod over what the world market views as being a reasonable price for the dwindling amount of United States metallurgical coal it is still buying.

Because of this situation, today I, along with the gentleman from Kentucky, Hal Rogers, am introducing a concurrent resolution which seeks reciprocity in the steel and metallurgical coal trade between the two countries.

If the Japanese value their exports of steel to the United States, then they should place equal value on United States metallurgical coal exports to Japan.

The resolution urges the negotiation of an enforceable agreement under which Japan will import United States metallurgical coal in quantities equivalent to that used in the production of Japanese steel products exported to the United States.

Mr. Speaker, I believe we have given the Japanese a chance to play a fair game in this trade. Instead, with respect to the coal trade, they have negotiated in bad faith. It is time for strong action.

## NICARAGUA: A MORE EFFECTIVE POLICY

HON. LEE H. HAMILTON

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 8, 1986

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, I would like to insert my Foreign Affairs Newsletter for March 1986 into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

### NICARAGUA: A MORE EFFECTIVE U.S. POLICY

The U.S. needs a more effective policy toward Nicaragua. Our policy of military pressure has failed to change Sandinista behavior, and Nicaragua is less democratic, more repressive, more pro-Cuba and pro-Soviet than it was five years ago. The President himself admits as much: he now says that Nicaragua is a communist state—something he didn't say in 1981.

U.S. funding of the Contras has made democracy and a negotiated settlement in Nicaragua more remote. Within Central America, the Contras war is now more destabilizing than the Sandinistas, and our fixation with Nicaragua means that we are neglecting far more important problems in Latin America, such as the debt crisis and its impact on new, fragile democracies we support.

After five years the U.S. is still unclear about its goals in Nicaragua. Do we want the Sandinista to change their policies, or do we want to oust them? Rhetoric and actions do not mesh. The President says that "Nicaragua is a foreign policy question of supreme importance." If this is so, then why are we trying to fund an ineffective, untrained peasant army—which has little support in Nicaragua—to protect our supremely important interests?

We need to re-think the fundamental premises of our policy toward Nicaragua. First, unilateralism cannot succeed. We need the active support of Latin America and Western Europe. We cannot conduct a war on the pretext of promoting democracy if Latin democracies oppose that war. Second, the Contras are simply not capable in the next several years, whether we fund them or not, of changing Sandinista policies. Barring the use of the Marines, only a long-term policy supported by our friends will be sustainable or successful over the long-term. There are simply too many questions about the Contras relating to their political viability, adherence to democracy, military performance, respect for human rights, and support in the region for the U.S. to invest heavily in them. Third, policy must be articulated accurately. We must be clear about what behavior threatens vital U.S. interests and cannot be tolerated, but we must not exaggerate the threat posed by Nicaragua or exaggerate what interests we consider vital. Otherwise our policy will lose credibility.

A better policy toward Nicaragua would consist of three parts in equal measure: isolation and containment of the Sandinistas; a long-term strategy of carrots and sticks; and active U.S. support for Contadora and negotiations.

First, we should prevent the Soviet Union or its allies from developing an offensive capability in Central America that threatens U.S. security. We should support economic and military assistance to strengthen the democracies of Central America against

threats from Nicaragua or anywhere else. We should use skillful diplomacy, encouraging the support of our friends and allies, to isolate and contain Nicaragua—diplomatically, politically, economically, and militarily.

Second, we should use carrots and sticks. If Nicaragua were to agree to a ceasefire, remove Soviet and Cuban advisers, reduce the size of its armed forces, or make progress toward national reconciliation and a pluralistic democracy, we should respond positively. We could suspend U.S. military exercises in the region, resume normal trade, and support bilateral and multilateral assistance for Nicaragua. On the other hand, if Nicaragua's behavior worsened we could press Europe and Japan—now Nicaragua's largest trading partners—to cut trade and cooperate in blocking assistance. We could impose more comprehensive economic sanctions. We could break diplomatic relations with Nicaragua. Such steps, however, would only be effective if taken together with our friends and allies.

Third, the U.S. must effectively support the Contadora negotiations. For the European Community, Japan, and 13 Latin American governments, including each in Central America, Contadora is the preferred course. No democratic government publicly supports U.S. funding of the Contras, and the Contradora countries are on record that this policy is counterproductive to the goal of a negotiated settlement.

The U.S. has yet to make public comment on the third Contadora treaty draft issued six months ago. If we do not like the draft, we should work to improve it. The current draft has many positive elements which serve U.S. interests. If agreed to and implemented by Nicaragua, it would stop new military deliveries to the Sandinistas, establish a ceiling on the size of their military forces and a schedule for their reduction, prevent the establishment of Soviet or Cuban military bases, force Nicaragua to send home all foreign military advisers, and end Nicaragua's support for the export of revolution. A Contadora agreement would also substantially increase Latin American and Western European political pressure on Nicaragua to live up to treaty commitments for national reconciliation, a pluralistic democracy and free elections.

Why would Nicaragua live up to a deal made with the U.S. through the Contadora process? Because its survival would depend on it. The Sandinistas know that the heart of the bargain is that we would let them survive in exchange for a halt to foreign policies we do not like and improvement in their domestic record. If they reneged, all bets would be off, including any U.S. pledges at Contadora. With a regional agreement in place, the U.S. would have a much better legal and diplomatic basis to respond to Nicaraguan misdeeds than it does now. With strong diplomatic support from Western Europe and Latin America, the United States could make life for Nicaragua very difficult.

Nicaragua needs peace and economic development. The Soviets and Cubans cannot provide either one. Nicaragua knows that Latin America, Western Europe and the United States hold those keys—and that only a Contadora agreement can lead them to open the door.



## CARVING OUT LAMB'S SHARE OF THE MARKET

**HON. TONY COELHO**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 8, 1986

Mr. COELHO. Mr. Speaker, recently, an article appeared in the Fresno Bee about a good friend of mine, Mr. Stanley Kooyumjian, of Fresno, CA.

For many years, Stanley was the proprietor of the well-known Fresno restaurant, "Stanley's," which specialized in Armenian cuisine. He sold the restaurant a few years ago, and since that time has served as a marketing director for the American Lamb Council. In this capacity, Stanley has been working to increase the market for lamb by demonstrating new and innovative ways to prepare and serve it.

Stanley has been working with lamb for many years, and as the article discusses, has been quite successful in convincing others about the variety of uses that lamb is well suited for. Due to the efforts of Stanley and others like him, lamb consumption in the United States has been increasing rapidly every year.

In recognition of Stanley's fine efforts on behalf of the U.S. lamb industry, I ask that the article from the Fresno Bee be reprinted here in the RECORD.

[From the Fresno Bee, Mar. 2, 1986]

### CARVING OUT LAMB'S SHARE OF THE MARKET (By Richard D. Hall)

Using a meat saw and two knives, former Fresno restaurateur Stanley Kooyumjian expertly divided a 75-pound lamb carcass into a variety of cuts, some of them new to the trade.

His small, attentive audience at the Fresno Hilton Hotel included three executive chefs from major restaurants in Chicago, San Francisco, and Portland, Ore.

Kooyumjian, 52, began working with lamb as a boy in his father's Home Market on Broadway, then he featured lamb dishes in his Armenian restaurant, "Stanley's," downtown and later on Shaw Avenue.

Tired of the long hours, he sold the restaurant. For the last 2½ years he has been one of seven marketing directors for the American Lamb Council, the industry's promotion arm. Kooyumjian's territory is California and Nevada, where his duties include demonstrating new ways to break a carcass, changes the council says will benefit packers, purveyors, retailers and food-service markets.

Talking as he worked at the session last week, Kooyumjian said, "All I'm trying to do is stimulate some ideas, using nice cuts."

Lamb consumption has been growing by leaps and bounds, especially in restaurants. The increase is 56 percent in four years, Kooyumjian said.

Within the last five years, lamb dishes have climbed from 28 percent to 48 percent of the red meat consumed at his restaurants, said David Asher-Tournant. He is executive chef for the Bankers Club, Carnelian Room and Montgomery Street Bar and Grill, all in the Bank of America headquarters building in San Francisco.

By comparison, beef consumption has dropped from 55 percent to 32 percent, Asher-Tournant said. Veal has dropped in

popularity from second to third place, and fresh pork has remained last in the red meats, although it increased from 1 to 5 percent, he added.

The San Francisco restaurants are part of the Fine Dining Division of ARA Services. The three executive chefs and their general manager, Christian De Vos, came to Fresno for Kooyumjian's demonstration as part of their quarterly meeting to plan new menus.

Despite the upsurge in lamb consumption, beef and veal continue to lead on the red meat side in ARA restaurants generally, De Vos said fish and poultry are 50 percent of the business, he added.

"Lamb is a cut of meat people do not know how to cook at home," De Vos said. "That's why it's a good piece to have in restaurants."

When he came from Belgium 12 years ago as an executive chef, De Vos said, lamb was "only considered an ethnic food, or to serve at Easter. That's really turned around in the last several years."

Tim Indart of Clovis, president of the American Sheep Producers Council, expressed optimism that after some tough years the industry has begun to build back. The council includes the American Lamb Council and the American Wool Council. Financed by assessments, from the 116,000 lamb producers, the U.S. industry promotes itself on a \$6 million budget, far less than the beef and pork industries spend.

Consumption outstrips domestic supply, and the visiting chefs said they preferred U.S. lamb over the imports from Australia and New Zealand. American lamb tastes better, and a larger selection of cuts are available from domestic producers, they said.

Indart said that another factor in lamb's new popularity "is people are beginning to realize lamb is a healthful item, and a change from beef or chicken. I think it's lower in cholesterol than a lot of the other meats. I think people have become more health-conscious."

However, Bonnie F. Liebman, staff nutritionist at the Center for Science in the Public Interest, said in a telephone interview from Washington, D.C., that "there is no difference between beef and lamb."

Although some cuts are less fatty than others, she said, "the problem with lamb is the same as with beef—high in fat. Saturated fat [in lamb] is in the same range as beef. Saturated fat raises cholesterol in the blood."

Low-fat foods are poultry with the skin removed and fish, she said.

The Lamb Council contends that its product "satisfies today's customer preference for light, nutritious meals," noting that lamb contains "as few as 158 calories per 3-ounce serving."

Liebman countered that most serving portions are larger than three ounces. Lamb recipes the council distributed call for serving sizes of 5 to 8 ounces.

Asked about their concern for diners' nutrition, the visiting executive chefs said they paid more attention to customer satisfaction.

Kooyumjian's demonstrations are aimed at increasing customer pleasure by encouraging food-service officials and retail stores to work with various lamb cuts.

He showed the all-male audience a revision in lamb shoulder cuts the American Lamb Council recommends: In separating the shoulders from the hotel rack, one of the four major wholesale cuts of a lamb carcass, the break should be made between the

5th and 6th ribs, instead of the traditional separation between the 4th and 5th ribs. The 5th rib, which contains a portion of the hard shoulder blade bone, is not desirable when left on the hotel rack.

Watching Kooyumjian work, Durbin W. Breckenridge of Fresno, vice president of Hestbeck's wholesale meats, told him, "On the retail and wholesale level, we need to know where we can go with that shoulder." Kooyumjian replied that he may schedule a local program just for stores.

As he picked up the lamb breast, Kooyumjian said the piece has "never been particularly successful because of a stigma by the public." Then, as he cut a "Denver rib" from the breast, Kooyumjian pronounced it, "good eating. I think the people you are getting your racks from will be happy to give you Denver rib."

Kooyumjian moved quickly to a "Saratoga roll," one of several cuts possible from the lamb shoulder, which is boned and formed into a compact roll. Pinned with skewers, the roll may be cut into individual chops and become a restaurant's "special of the day."

"It's an extension of the rack," Kooyumjian commented, referring to the roll. "An underworked piece of meat. Not a tough piece of meat." It may be cut into cutlets, medallions, or a Wellington, he added.

"Very few people want to work with the shoulder," said Asher-Tournant. "It's unpleasant."

"There are some problems there," Kooyumjian admitted, referring to packing procedures. He added, "I'll talk to your supplier."

Kooyumjian's many stops each month include packing houses, where, he says, "they're beginning to believe me" that growers should not be penalized financially for delivering carcasses weighing more than 55 pounds. The traditional thinking has been that a large animal is tough, he added.

Despite the traditional thinking that a large animal is tough, the lamb council says, improved production methods are achieving "larger, meatier and higher-quality lambs."

The larger animals permit some cuts of meat that could not be obtained from smaller lambs, Kooyumjian said.

## THE MARTIN LUTHER KING ESSAY CONTEST

**HON. MAJOR R. OWENS**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 8, 1986

Mr. OWENS. Mr. Speaker, despite the fact that the Peace Academy which Congress authorized has not come to fruition every effort must be made to promote peace. On January 20, 1986, at the first celebration of the birthday of Martin Luther King, the 12th Congressional District awarded prizes to students who participated in an essay contest on peace. More than 400 students submitted essays. The following are the winners in the elementary school essay contest.

### THE TIME I MADE PEACE IN MY CLASS

(By Darlene Maxis, Public School 628, District 18)

The time I made peace in my class was when I was in the third grade. The class was walking through the halls when a boy named Kevin stepped on Michael's new pair

of Pro-players sneakers. They began to argue because Kevin didn't say he was sorry. I heard loud voices. I strolled over to see what was happening. As I got even closer to the boys they began to fight. I tried to stop the fight as quickly as I could by asking them back into their classroom. As soon as we did Michael turned to all the boys and asked them to jump Kevin after school or at lunchtime. I knew I had to do something before lunchtime or it would be too late. I stood in front of the room and started talking. I explained to the boys that it doesn't make sense to fight because Kevin stepped on Michael's Pro-Players and didn't say he was sorry. Wouldn't it be stupid getting all the boys against Kevin just for stepping on another boy's sneakers? The class grew silent and I could tell they were thinking. Then Kevin got up and walked over to Michael and said "Sorry." Michael said "Sorry" too. Everything was okay. That's how I made peace in the third grade.

I think fighting makes no sense because it makes things worse in your life. It causes a lack of communication with people. God didn't put us on this planet to fight. He put us on this Earth to live together in harmony.

**I REMEMBER THE TIME I MADE PEACE IN MY CLASS**

(By Candace Mounsey, Public School 135, District 18)

A long time ago in second grade, I made peace in my class. A girl in my class stole a sharpener from someone's desk. I was the only one in my class who saw her take it. I wanted to tell the teacher, but I wanted her to confess for herself. It was time to go home, but the teacher said she wasn't leaving without the sharpener taken from the student's desk. I talked to the girl but she said she was never going to confess. She asked me to tell the teacher she stole it but I told her "Honesty is the Best Policy" so use it. She didn't want to listen but I still spoke to her. I told her she would never live with herself if she didn't return that sharpener. So she confessed. The teacher was proud of her and me for encouraging her. The teacher didn't punish her because she was honest. That was the time I made peace in my class.

**THE TIME I MADE PEACE IN MY CLASS**

(By Ayana Lewis, Public School 335, District 16)

Before I started to write my composition I sat down and thought about what the title really means. I think this composition stands for making peace between people, just like the late Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. did. He was a preacher and a man of peace. He believed in settling disagreements in a non-violent way.

I remember a time when I used a peaceful way to help two classmates settle an argument. A boy during lunchtime, called one of the girls in our class "black." The young lady began to cry. She said she knows she is darker skinned than he is but why is he picking on me for that?

I told her that she should be proud of her skin color, no matter how dark or light it is. Dr. King fought for the rights of all people to be equal no matter what color their skin was. I tried to get her to feel good about herself and have pride.

I then went over to speak to the young man. I asked him why he called her "black" when he is also black. Did we win equal rights so that now we should call each other

names? Shouldn't we feel proud of our skin color and not pick on each other?

Dr. King made a beautiful speech in which he told of his dream. He wanted all people, especially the children to grow up in a world of peace.

I got the two children to talk over the problem. The young man apologized to the young lady. I felt good about my part in this and I felt I had carried on Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.'s dream.

**I REMEMBER THE LAST TIME I MADE PEACE IN THE CLASSROOM**

(Sulaiman Abdul-Malik, Public School 9, District 13)

It was a rainy, soggy, gloomy Monday and everyone seemed to be frustrated about something. My mother was nagging and rushing me out to school. People on the train were arguing and shouting more than ever. I got to school thinking I was safe from the anger outside. In school it was the same all over again. Just like outside. The teachers weren't in their usual cheery mood. We got in the class and got to work. Things seemed to be fine until math period. The teacher walked out of the room for a moment. One of the girls said, "Girls are smarter than boys." The boys got immediately insulted and shouted back, "Girls are stupid." "They don't know anything!" Before I knew it the girls and boys were having a shouting match and some of them were about to do battle. Everything went crazy. I knew I had to do something before the teacher came back and suspended all of us. I got up on my chair and shouted, "Shut up!", instant silence arose and I had time to make peace between them. I said, "everyone is equal. Everyone has their own way of showing wisdom. One person might do better in one subject and another person in another subject. You shouldn't badmouth people because there's always something someone knows that you don't know." They saw my point and went back to their seats and their work. As I stepped down off of my chair the teacher walked in. Just in time I made peace.

**THE TIME I MADE PEACE IN MY CLASS**

(Penelope Webster, Public School 156, District 23)

The time I made peace in my class was when two of my closest friends were arguing over who would get picked for a computer class. One day my teacher put us in different groups and then called out the names of the people who would be in the computer class. Bernice was chosen for the class, but, Angela was not chosen.

During school, the next day, Angela wanted to fight Bernice because she was very angry that she wasn't in the computer class. Angela followed Bernice after school and began hitting her. Bernice did not defend herself because she did not like fighting. I observed the actions of my friends and felt I had to do something because I didn't want to see either one get hurt. Since I was smaller than both of them, I knew I had to be careful.

I had to think of something fast so I started to cry and this got Angela's attention. She stopped hitting Bernice and now I could talk to them. I told Angela that fighting Bernice would not help her get into the class. I also told her to try to come to school more often and work very hard. Angela

seemed happy with my explanation and my two friends shook hands and became friends again.

I felt so good about my part as a peace maker that I told my teacher the next day. I know now how Dr. King Jr. must have felt when he helped to make peace, many many times. We were reading about Dr. M.L. King Jr. last week and the teacher asked me to share my experience with the class. Everyone seemed to like my story and made me feel like a real "Hero."

**LEGISLATION PROTECTING THOSE WEARING UNOBTRUSIVE RELIGIOUS GARMENTS**

**HON. CHARLES E. SCHUMER**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 8, 1986

Mr. SCHUMER. Mr. Speaker, the Supreme Court recently decided that an Orthodox Jewish psychiatrist in the U.S. Air Force would have to make a choice between his loyalty to his country and his religious beliefs. By deciding that S. Simcha Goldman, an ordained rabbi, does not have the constitutional right to wear a yarmulke indoors while in uniform, the Court has forced him and others like him to make that gut-wrenching decision.

Today I introduced a bill H.R. 4525 to protect anyone who desires to wear an unobtrusive religious garment like a yarmulke, from punishment or discrimination under the authority of the U.S. Government.

This bill prohibits the exercise of U.S. Government authority to prevent any person wishing to wear a yarmulke or a similarly unobtrusive religious symbol from holding any position or from performing any function that that person would otherwise be qualified. Violations could be redressed through an implied civil action on behalf of anyone who is punished for wearing an inconspicuous religious article.

Without the clarification provided in this legislation young Jewish men who have always been patriotic defenders of the rights of all Americans would have to choose between duty to their country and duty to their religious beliefs. Putting these soldiers and potential soldiers in such a dilemma certainly would not improve the quality of our Armed Forces.

This bill if enacted would undo regulations that have no basis in necessity. A look at the very successful Israeli Army clearly demonstrates that our national security would in no way be compromised by allowing young military men to wear yarmulkes. Israeli soldiers with yarmulkes fight side by side with those who don't without any morale problems at all.

The purpose of the bill I have introduced is to balance the legitimate right and necessity of the military to regulate the dress in the Armed Forces with the constitutional rights of those employees to the full exercise of their religion. I encourage my colleagues to join me in sponsoring H.R. 4525.



H.R. 4525

A bill to vindicate the principles of the first article of amendment to the Constitution of the United States by preventing persons acting under the authority of the United States from forbidding the wearing of inconspicuous religious symbols by individuals

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That a person acting under the authority of the United States, or under color of that authority, shall not forbid any individual from wearing any inconspicuous religious symbol, such as a yarmulke.*

# 1986 CONGRESSIONAL CALL TO CONSCIENCE VIGIL

**HON. THOMAS N. KINDNESS**

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, April 8, 1986*

Mr. KINDNESS. Mr. Speaker, during the first session of the 99th Congress some 50 Members of this body participated in efforts to focus attention on the plight of prisoners of conscience and others living under oppression in the Soviet Union—individuals who seek freedom, but are neither permitted to freely practice their religion or to leave the Soviet Union.

While emigration numbers have been severely reduced over the last few years, Soviet harassment and discrimination have continued unabated.

With the assistance of the membership of this body, the Congressional Call to Conscience Vigil for Soviet Jews, sponsored by the Union of Councils for Soviet Jews, will continue these efforts in this session of the Congress.

The purpose of the vigil, which began in 1976, is to use weekly CONGRESSIONAL RECORD statements as a vehicle to expose and denounce Soviet oppression. In the past, the vigil has been particularly useful in voicing bipartisan congressional support for individuals and families wishing to emigrate to the free world, as illustrated by numerous statements through the vigil on behalf of recently released prisoner of conscience, Anatoly Shcharansky.

Given the renewed dialog between the United States and the Soviet Union and the subsequent meeting between President Reagan and Secretary Gorbachev scheduled for later this year, it is particularly important that we continue to demonstrate our concern about human rights issues and violations in the Soviet Union. Efforts of the vigil to raise human rights issues can have a profound impact on these discussions.

As chairman of the House Call to Conscience Vigil for 1986, I invite my colleagues to join me in the continuation of vigil activities this year.

Our statements will provide hope in the struggle for freedom and expression, and will demonstrate the congressional commitment to efforts to lift the dark curtain of Soviet oppression so that the light of liberty may burn brightly for those who are persecuted in the Soviet Union.

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

### NO ROSE WOULD BLOW SO RED AS ONE WHERE ELMER BLED

**HON. CHARLES E. BENNETT**

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, April 8, 1986*

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. Speaker, for the purpose of the RECORD, I would like to submit herewith an inspiring article that was written by Brig. Gen. J.D. Hittle, USMC-Retired, that appeared in the March 3, 1986, issue of the Navy Times.

The article follows:

[From the Navy Times, Mar. 3, 1986]

**NO ROSE WOULD BLOW SO RED AS ONE WHERE ELMER BLED**

(By Brig. Gen. J.D. Hittle, USMC-Retired)

In late February each year my mind reaches back to a little island in the far Pacific called Iwo Jima and a man named Elmer Montgomery.

We first met on Guam in late 1944 during the final phases of that campaign. I had been ordered to take over the G-4 logistics job for the 3rd Marine Division. We needed a clerk-typist Sgt. Elmer Montgomery reported.

Elmer looked like the vindication of the whole Marine Corps personnel system. He wore the stripes of a buck sergeant, but there was nothing tough or fierce about this young man from Montana. His sensitive face, deep-set eyes, thin, almost frail figure hardly matched gung-ho Marine prototype.

As we began to work together, I became more and more convinced that Elmer was the right man in the right job. He typed well, took shorthand, understood administration, kept things moving. He was a perfect man behind the man behind the gun.

After Guam was secured, attention shifted to the invasion of Iwo Jima. Work piled high, and the hours were long in that little quonset hut office. But, when Elmer did have a moment, I noticed he would lean his chair against the wall and pull a small, white leather-covered Bible from the hip pocket of his fatigues.

Wherever the Bible fell open in his hand, he would begin to read—and find serenity.

I remember one evening when we were working late.

Elmer's glance fell on a stack of books.

"I see you have a copy of Omar Khayyam's Rubaiyat," he said. "It's one of my favorites."

I explained that it offered a mental change of pace.

"What's your favorite verse?" I asked.

"I sometimes think that never blows so red,

"The rose as where some buried Caesar bled."

He had it perfect.

In February we sailed for Iwo Jima.

After several days of fierce fighting, division staff sections were ordered to provide replacements for badly mauled front-line units. I had to provide two.

It's not a pleasant job to pick men trained in support tasks for the "meat grinder." I selected the two I thought could best be spared from my supply operation.

I was just about to send the names to the division adjutant when my executive officer,

*April 8, 1986*

Maj. Malcolm Beyer (later a brigadier general) popped into my dugout.

Sgt. Montgomery wanted to see me.

The sergeant saluted and informed me he had heard about the call for reinforcements.

"You're not one of them," I told him, thinking it would put his mind at ease.

"That's what I wanted to talk to you about, Colonel," he said. "I want to go forward."

"I'll never feel right if I don't go up when I'm needed," he said. "I'm needed now."

"I'm older than most of these kids. I've had a lot of experience looking after myself while hunting back home in Montana. I can look after them up forward."

"Alright, I'll grant your request, but only because you're old enough to know what you're doing and because it means so much to you."

I never saw Elmer again.

A Marine from his front line unit told me the story.

The platoon commander had been killed and Elmer was assigned, under a staff sergeant, as assistant platoon commander.

The order came to attack.

The patched-up platoon moved across a slight rise and into a small saucer-shaped area where it was pinned down by a carefully camouflaged Japanese machinegun. If the men tried to move back across the rise, the gun would get them. If they stayed, they would soon be blasted apart by mortars.

Elmer crawled and rolled within yelling distance of the staff sergeant.

"Sgt. Montgomery yelled, 'When I draw the fire, roll the platoon back over the rise,'" he said.

"And while the platoon commander was saying 'no,' Sgt. Montgomery stood up, and firing his rifle from his hip, walked into the machinegun.

"We're here because he drew the fire long enough for us to slide back over that rise."

They never found Elmer. A few minutes after his platoon reached safety, our artillery laid down a barrage on the machinegun emplacement. The big shells churned the ground and everything on it mercilessly.

He and his little white, leather-covered Bible became, forever, part of the hallowed ground of Iwo Jima.

I suppose memories fade and maybe Sgt. Montgomery's Navy Cross is almost forgotten. But whenever I think back to all the brave men I have been privileged to know, Elmer heads the list.

And whenever my eye falls on a copy of the Rubaiyat, I can't help but believe that if a rose were ever to bloom where Elmer fell, it would be more red than any "Where some buried Caesar bled."

(This article first appeared in the March 9, 1969 issue of the San Diego Union. It is reprinted here with permission. But Brig. Gen. Hittle adds the following postscript.)

On 21 Nov. 1970, while serving as assistant secretary of the Navy (manpower and Reserve) I had the pleasure to be the speaker at the launching ceremonies for the Knox-class frigate Elmer Montgomery (FF1082). If anyone had asked if I had used my influence to have the ship named after that heroic Marine, I could have answered the questioner honestly: "I sure did!"—JDH.

# ATTORNEY GENERAL SHOULD EXAMINE EVIDENCE AGAINST KURT WALDHEIM

## HON. TED WEISS

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 8, 1986

Mr. WEISS. Mr. Speaker, last month, the World Jewish Congress uncovered evidence that former U.N. Secretary General Kurt Waldheim gravely misled the world about his Nazi background. If the records implicating Waldheim in Nazi war crimes are verified, pursuant to section 212(a)(33) of the Immigration and Nationality Act Waldheim should be and would be barred from entering the United States.

Today I am introducing a resolution asking the Attorney General to examine all available evidence regarding Waldheim's activities during World War II, to determine whether under the Immigration and Nationality Act Waldheim must be excluded from admission into the United States.

The evidence against Waldheim is disturbingly persuasive. For years, Waldheim claimed that although he served in the German Army during World War II, he never belonged to any Nazi organization, and that he left active duty in 1942 after a leg injury. He has now retracted these accounts, admitting that he joined two Nazi organizations, including the notorious brownshirts; that he served until 1945 in a German Army command that brutally attacked Yugoslav partisans and engaged in the mass deportation of Greek Jews; and that he participated in "Operation Kozara," during which the Nazis deported some 68,000 people—including 23,000 children—from the Kozara Mountains of western Bosnia. Waldheim insists, however, that he committed no crimes personally.

Yet even Waldheim's revised account of his Nazi background does not square with the documentary evidence. According to records produced by the World Jewish Congress, Waldheim joined the Nazi brownshirts on November 18, 1938, just 8 days after the infamous Kristallnacht, when the Nazis attacked, burned, and looted Jewish communities all over Germany and Austria. In Vienna, 42 of 43 synagogues were burned to the ground. The Kristallnacht marked the beginning of the holocaust.

In September 1942, records show, Waldheim was awarded a medal for "brave conduct" in battles fought against partisan units in central Yugoslavia. And although he claims that he only served as a translator in the German Army, documents from the West German military archives and the World Jewish Congress identify Waldheim as an intelligence officer with responsibility for questioning Allied prisoners and checking the loyalty of fellow intelligence officers.

Waldheim deserves to have all of the evidence that has been uncovered carefully examined and scrutinized. If after a careful examination, he is found to have participated in Nazi war crimes, under section 212(a)(33) of the Immigration and Nationality Act he will be ineligible to receive a U.S. visa and must be excluded from admission into the United States. The resolution I am introducing asks

the Attorney General to undertake the examination and to make the appropriate determination.

The text of the resolution follows:

### HOUSE RESOLUTION 409

Resolution expressing the sense of the House of Representatives that the Attorney General should examine evidence regarding the activities of former United Nations Secretary General Kurt Waldheim during the Second World War and should determine whether such evidence requires that Kurt Waldheim be denied admission into the United States

Whereas the atrocities committed by the Nazis during the Second World War were an unprecedented affront to the dignity and conscience of all humanity and resulted in the death of millions of innocent people;

Whereas questions have been repeatedly raised about the wartime activities of former United Nations Secretary General Kurt Waldheim and his possible association with the Nazis;

Whereas substantial evidence has recently become available suggesting that former United Nations Secretary General Kurt Waldheim was a party to the crimes of the Nazis; and

Whereas section 212(a)(33) of the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1182(a)(33)) provides in part that any individual who, in association with the Nazi Government in Germany or with any government allied with or located in any area occupied by the Nazi Government of Germany, participated in the persecution of any person because of race, religion, national origin, or political opinion shall be ineligible to receive visas and shall be excluded from admission into the United States: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That it is the sense of the House of Representatives that the Attorney General of the United States should thoroughly and expeditiously examine all available evidence regarding the activities of former United Nations Secretary General Kurt Waldheim during the Second World War, including those documents obtained by the World Jewish Congress, to determine whether, as provided in section 212(a)(33) of the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1182(a)(33)), Kurt Waldheim is ineligible to receive visas and must be excluded from admission into the United States.

## DON'T ABANDON THE NICARAGUAN PEOPLE

### HON. NORMAN D. SHUMWAY

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 8, 1986

Mr. SHUMWAY. Mr. Speaker, during the recent recess, an excellent editorial appeared in the Washington Post. I would like to share with my colleagues the very eloquent words of Jaime Chamorro, editor of La Prensa, the newspaper which played an active role in ousting the Somoza dictatorship.

I hope my colleagues will give serious and thoughtful attention to the words of Jaime Chamorro in his editorial, "Don't Abandon the Nicaraguan People." He offers compelling evidence to support the warning that the battle in Nicaragua is not limited to political squabbling—it is instead the cradle of potential in-

surgency throughout our hemisphere. To quote Chamorro:

... making concessions by restoring democracy and freedom in Nicaragua will be (the Sandinistas') political death. The negation of the system that has been established will be the end of their international and expansionist aims.

I believe we should move quickly and positively by aiding the Contras, to ensure that the end is accomplished.

The article follows:

### DON'T ABANDON THE NICARAGUAN PEOPLE

MANAGUA.—As the question of sending \$100 million in aid to the anti-Sandinista rebels was being discussed in Congress, the bishop of León, Nicaragua, Monsignor Julian Barni, made the following comment:

"While in the United States they are discussing the \$100 million, the Soviet Union has already given \$100 million and much more without any discussion at all." Bishop Barni added: "What is necessary is that both imperialist powers, not one alone, stop complicating matters in Nicaragua. The Nicaraguan people have fought to establish a true democratic regime and hope to achieve one. This is what matters most."

Nicaragua's problem, in effect, is not only a problem of the Nicaraguan people—their loss of freedom, civil and political rights. The problem is not only the total absence of democracy and political pluralism or the suppression of freedom of expression. Nor is it just the problem of discontent that prevails as a result of the same kinds of disastrous social and economic conditions that brought on the revolution. Nor is it only the persecution of the church, as if we have never seen this in the history of our country. Nor is it the 10,000 political prisoners.

In addition to these disgraces, which in one form or another we have seen appear and disappear in most Latin American countries, there emerges a particularly grave situation: the Sandinistas are transforming the Nicaraguan revolution, fought for by all Nicaraguans, into a revolution that serves the purposes of Marxism-Leninism. That is to say, they are taking a national movement and turning it into a beachhead for communist expansion. And they have sacrificed the national interest for the benefit of this cause.

Before the Sandinistas reach this goal, those Nicaraguans who are fighting for democracy have the right to ask for help from wherever they can get it. It is a cause far too important to lose. For the Nicaraguan people, the issue at hand is of such transcendental importance that they cannot vacillate at all in choosing the right position. The future of the freedom of generations of Nicaraguans hangs in the balance.

Those who argue that to give aid to the Nicaraguan rebels would be a violation of the "principle of a people's right to self-determination" are mistaken. These people seem to ignore or perhaps forget deliberately that self-determination applies to peoples, not oppressive governments that do not legitimately represent the will of the people.

They try to forget as well that the same Sandinistas received direct military aid from other countries when they were fighting to overthrow the Somoza dynasty. And despite the fact that the Sandinistas were receiving aid in the form of arms from other countries, no one accused those countries of being guilty of aggression toward Nicaragua. The reason is that the Somoza regime, like



the Sandinistas today, did not represent the will of the people.

The free peoples of the world, and particularly those in America, both North and South, must not at this critical time abandon the Nicaraguan people because their struggle is also the struggle for the future of the Western democracies. Nicaragua has become an important point of East-West confrontation. That Nicaragua in the long term could determine the balance of forces between the East and the West and ultimately the security of the United States and the Western Hemisphere as a whole may seem an exaggeration. But everything depends on future actions and the capacity of the democracies to defend themselves.

In the United States, the debate centers on whether the Sandinistas represent a serious threat to U.S. security. President Reagan argues firmly that they do. Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega has declared that he is prepared to discuss matters of regional security, but he refuses to speak with anyone regarding Nicaragua's internal situation.

A short time ago, two members of the U.S. Congress debated on television whether to give the \$100 million to the Nicaraguan rebels. One of them, who opposed aid, asked: How is it possible that such a small country with a population of only 3 million could pose a security threat to a great military power such as the United States? Against a power like the United States it would be impossible for even a single plane or tank to reach San Antonio, Texas, without it being destroyed.

When I heard the congressman's statement I couldn't believe he was serious. The danger is not military; naturally, when we speak of the military, we think of a war between the United States and Nicaragua. The danger is that the Sandinista revolution is not a revolution of the Nicaraguan people. Managua is filled with internationalists from Latin American countries who wield influence in this revolution and whose aims are the expansion of communist influence and Soviet domination in the region.

Nicaragua with its army of 60,000 men (Somoza's army had only 7,000) cannot be a military threat, nor can Cuba, whose army and militia consist of more than a million men. This absurd idea of a direct military threat from the Sandinistas is an attempt to obscure the real danger of the Sandinistas.

Their strategy is to prop up their communist regime in Nicaragua by sacrificing the freedom of the Nicaraguan people while they inspire, aid and arm, from Managua, insurgencies throughout Latin America, "movements of national liberation" that will convert the entire continent into an immense base of insurrection.

Perhaps now the idea of Nicaragua's becoming a serious military threat to the United States seems absurd, but in the future it could take on a far more serious air. Sooner or later, in 20 or 30 years, Latin America is going to succumb to one form or another of communist domination. Mexico is not necessarily an exception. It might one day be the country most likely to fall. Moreover, Mexico is considered by the communists to be the country that best fits into their strategy.

If all of this comes to pass, the balance of power between East and West will be definitely in favor of the East and spending \$100 million or a billion dollars will not reverse it. It could bring a world war to the doorstep of the United States. When Latin America, or much of Latin America, is under

the influence of the Eastern bloc, NATO will no longer be in Europe; it will be in San Antonio, Texas.

But if the president of Nicaragua wants to have a dialogue on the subject of U.S. security, why not do it? We believe that dialogue is necessary. It should not be a dialogue solely on U.S. security, but also on our democracy and freedom—something that repels the Sandinistas, because making concessions by restoring democracy and freedom by restoring democracy and freedom in Nicaragua will be their political death. The negation of the system that has been established will be the end of their internationalist and expansionist aims.

In addition, the Sandinistas have no reason or motivation to negotiate because the counterrevolution is in a ruinous state. This is because Reagan has not and will not be able to, as a result of congressional opposition, give effective aid so that the resistance can achieve its objective. In negotiations one concedes something in exchange for something else. The Sandinistas have a lot they can give. Reagan has nothing left to offer; Congress has already given it.

Daniel Ortega hopes to achieve the total elimination of the counterrevolution in exchange for the promise not to be a military threat to the United States to Nicaragua's neighbors; not to allow the Soviets to install military bases, and to remove all Cuban advisers. With this the Sandinistas could achieve their consolidation and a free way to continue their expansionist aims through nonmilitary, but not less dangerous or effective, means.

As Jean-Francois Revel, in his book "How Democracies Perish," writes: Democracy "awakens only when the danger becomes deadly, imminent, evident. By then, either there is too little time left for it to save itself, or the price of survival has become crushingly high."

#### SOUTH PACIFIC ISLANDS VEX WASHINGTON

HON. ROBERT J. LAGOMARSINO

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 8, 1986

Mr. LAGOMARSINO. Mr. Speaker, the attention of the United States was recently focused on the Philippines in the distant Western Pacific. A recent front page article in the Wall Street Journal discussed other issues of U.S. concern in another part of the Pacific, the vast South Pacific Ocean. A companion article dealt with the specific issue of the impact of U.S. tuna policy in the Pacific islands.

The South Pacific is a newly evolved region of independent island countries. This evolution began January 1, 1962, with the emergence of the first independent island country of Western Samoa. Since then, a total of 11 countries have become independent and that does not include the 3 prospectively freely associated states in Micronesia.

The article quotes a statement from the New Zealand Times: "This may be remembered as the year the Pacific Ocean ceased to be an American lake". While I don't believe the United States ever considered the Pacific Ocean an American lake, it is true that we have enjoyed decades of peace and goodwill among the South Pacific islands, along with

our two longtime friends, Australia and New Zealand. It is also true that the Soviets have increased their activities in the region with the successful conclusion last year of a fishing agreement with the country of Kiribati. They are continuing to solicit offers throughout the region, while Cuba and Libya have made official and unofficial contacts in Vanuatu and New Caledonia respectively.

In order to maintain and expand the goodwill of the United States in the South Pacific, and thereby countering third party intrusions in the region, the issues troubling the region need to be resolved.

One of the most sensitive issues is the lack of a U.S. fishing agreement with the island countries. The State Department was actively addressing this fishing issue this past week in Canberra, with the sixth round of negotiations to formulate a regional fishing agreement. This is an extremely difficult task, as the agreement must meet the requirements and needs of our tuna industry and those of the islands, as well as being consistent with U.S. fishing policy.

A nuclear free-zone fervor is permeating the South Pacific. The catalyst for this movement was set in motion with New Zealand Prime Minister Lange's decision to ban nuclear powered and armed ships from New Zealand ports. Not long after the implementation of the New Zealand policy, a South Pacific Nuclear Free Zone treaty was signed by eight Pacific countries.

Pacific island countries are now under pressure to decide whether or not to keep their ports open to U.S. ship visits. They are being strongly influenced by one of their largest donors of aid, New Zealand.

United States aid in the South Pacific islands is approximately one-tenth of the total. Our \$6 million assistance is multilateral, with little credit to the United States. The individual countries want direct bilateral aid such as the \$1.5 million to Fiji—proposed in 1984 but not yet appropriated. Direct funding would be a welcomed change in the islands, and it would heighten U.S. visibility. While U.S. aid funds are tight, they remain as a concrete demonstration of our concern.

Only two U.S. embassies have been established among the Pacific island countries, in a region of several million square miles. Not only is the United States' representation in the Pacific bleak, but our accessibility by island governments is limited. Without a readily available communications channel, the United States is unable to provide assistance and feedback as problems and issues arise.

The United States must take an active role in dealing with the concerns of this newly evolved region of independent Pacific islands. The solutions to these problems are vexing, given the numerous entities and multifaceted issues. However, by resolutely concluding and implementing a fishing agreement, addressing the nuclear free zone treaty, and providing appropriate and adequate bilateral aid, establishing adequate U.S. representation, the United States can maintain our national security in a peaceful Pacific and keep it from becoming a Russian lake.

Following is the article from the March 5, 1986, Wall Street Journal:

LONG IGNORED AS SAFE, SOUTH PACIFIC ISLANDS NOW VEX WASHINGTON—A TROUBLED AREA IS RESENTFUL OVER U.S. FISHING POLICY, FRENCH TESTS OF WEAPONS

THE RUSSIAN BEAR IS FLIRTING

(By James P. Sterba)

AUCKLAND, NEW ZEALAND.—Think of the South Pacific. Paradise usually springs to mind. Lush, idyllic vacation spots like Tahiti and Fiji. Cute little countries like Tonga, with a king who takes up two first-class airline seats, and Tuvalu, which earns its way in the world mainly by selling colorful postage stamps to collectors.

There is Papua New Guinea, with its vast, exotic jungles. But you have to squint to find the others on an average-size globe: Kiribati, Vanuatu, Western Samoa—in all, two dozen microstates, five million people, some 1,300 islands, most of them so tiny and far away from the world's troubles that it is difficult to conceive of their causing trouble or being troubled themselves.

That has been Washington's view, too. The affection that the U.S. gained by pushing Imperial Japan out of the region four decades ago seemed boundless. Diplomacy, what little seemed required, was often put in the hands of generous campaign contributors who had to consult maps to discover exactly where they were going as ambassadors. With two staunch allies, Australia and New Zealand, looking after the region, it was an easy part of the world to ignore.

#### A 40-YEAR POLICY

Not anymore. With U.S. policy in its 40th year of what a Heritage Foundation study calls "benign neglect," the Reagan administration has discovered that neglect has its price. The region is troubled economically and socially. It is angry over U.S. fishing policy and French nuclear-weapons tests in the area. Anti-West Third World rhetoric is on the rise. The Soviet Union's flirtations are beginning to pay off.

On Dec. 29, the New Zealand Times summed up the trends in an article that began: "This may be remembered as the year the Pacific Ocean ceased to be an American lake."

That is overstating it, Western diplomats say. But U.S. military strategists, for one, are disturbed by what they see. While the end of the presidential crisis in the Philippines would seem to improve the odds of America's holding on to its bases there, that can't be considered certain, and when these strategies look for backup positions in the Pacific, the view is no longer so pleasant. To have to worry about—let alone contest for influence in—a huge watery patch of the globe that has been uncontested since World War II isn't appealing.

#### FLIRTING BACK

Most regional leaders don't savor the prospects of superpower competition, either, although they have discovered that the best way to get the Reagan administration's attention is to flirt back at Communists. They are doing so because today there is a region of resentment. U.S. tuna boats and U.S. support of French nuclear-weapons testing on Polynesian atoll of Mururoa have fertilized budding anti-Americanism and used up much residual good will.

Meanwhile, the Anzus alliance, a mutual-security pact between Australia, New Zealand and the U.S., is under strain, perhaps unraveling. And Australia and New Zealand, especially the latter, are under growing pressure—from anti-nuclear groups, leftist trade unions, environmentalists and peace groups—to abrogate the treaty, kick out

U.S. military facilities, dismantle joint intelligence-gathering and communications sites, and even join the nonaligned movement.

These groups have helped organize islanders into anti-U.S. groups as well. Through some leftist New Zealand trade unions, Moscow dispenses money and support.

#### U.S.-NEW ZEALAND RIFT

Prime Minister David Lange of New Zealand carried out a popular 1984 campaign pledge of banning U.S. warships' port visits unless the U.S. certifies that the ships are nuclear-free—which it won't. Fearing that the New Zealand action might be copied elsewhere, the U.S. retaliated with strong denunciations and suspended all military cooperation with New Zealand. The U.S. also cut New Zealand out of a secret and elite intelligence-sharing network that includes the United Kingdom, Canada and Australia and involves swapping secrets that the U.S. won't share, for example, with NATO.

The U.S.-New Zealand actions strained relations and rendered largely inoperative the 35-year-old Anzus alliance, which most island leaders viewed as a regional security blanket. The U.S. retaliation made it difficult for New Zealand to carry out what had been its primary intelligence-gathering mission in the five-power network: keeping a military and political eye on the South Pacific.

The region's nuclear allergy was aggravated when French agents bombed a Greenpeace environmental protest ship, the Rainbow Warrior, in Auckland harbor, killing a photographer. The ship had been en route to Mururoa to protest French testing, which has gone on underground since 1975 and was carried out in the atmosphere before that.

Eight nations of the 13-member South Pacific Forum, including Australia and New Zealand, meanwhile agreed to a treaty creating a South Pacific Nuclear Free Zone. Australia declined to cooperate with the U.S. in MX missile testing.

Of far more immediate concern, however, was Moscow's success, for the first time, in getting an economic-cooperation agreement with one of the microstates. The Republic of Kiribati, frustrated by U.S. fishing abuses, last summer opened its 1.4 million square miles of Central Pacific waters to a Soviet fishing fleet.

And last fall, Soviet cruise liners, banned from plying the region in retaliation for the Afghanistan invasion six years ago, were invited back in to help a sagging tourist trade. (On Feb. 16, one of them struck a reef and sank in New Zealand's Cook Strait.)

At least six financially strapped nations in the region—Fiji, Kiribati, the Solomon Islands, Tuvalu, Vanuatu and Western Samoa—received fresh offers of Soviet aid and economic cooperation last year. Such offers have been spurned in the past. Now, some leaders suggest that they will wait and see how the Kiribati fishing arrangement works out before turning Moscow down. The accord nets Kiribati \$1.7 million, about 10% of its national budget. Other aid-dependent islanders could use that kind of money, too.

In the meantime, Vanuatu, already best friends with Cuba, has agreed to receive Vietnamese foreign aid in the form of a medical-aid team sent by Hanoi. And in New Caledonia, pro-independence forces acknowledge that one faction in their coalition sent a team to Libya for training in the fall of 1984. They say they haven't ruled out another visit.

Even Western successes have their qualifications. While the voters of Palau, for ex-

ample, have just overwhelmingly approved a new political relationship with Washington that gives military concessions to the U.S., the arrangement also bars the use, testing or storing of nuclear weapons there.

While the Soviets increase their friendly overtures in the region—for example, by passing out free airline tickets to visit Russia and offering scholarships to study there—anti-American feelings are growing and regional diplomats blame the Reagan administration.

Mr. Reagan's first-term rejection of the 1982 Law of the Sea treaty was viewed by islanders as an official endorsement for U.S. fishing vessels to steal their most valuable economic resource: tuna. Under a 1976 U.S. law, tuna are exempt from claims of a 200-mile economic-zone because they are a "highly migratory species." So U.S. tuna fishermen freely take catches in violation of the laws of the island nations involved. The Reagan administration also angers islanders by backing French colonial claims to French Polynesia and New Caledonia.

"The United States must stop stomping around the South Pacific like a heedless hippopotamus, following damaging policies dictated by North Atlantic interests," says an editorial in Pacific Islands Monthly, an Australian-based magazine that reflects regional thinking.

#### MILITARY CONCERNED

All this hardly makes for the next superpower flashpoint. But a succession of U.S. Pacific military commanders, including Adm. William J. Crowe, who is currently the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, have expressed concern and quietly lobbied the Reagan administration to clean up its act in the region. That process began last summer, after the Anzus crisis and the Kiribati-Soviet fishing agreement, when Secretary of State George Shultz toured the region.

A December 1984 study for the State Department's Office of Long Range Assessments and Research notes that "the bull is not yet amongst the china" but that the situation could quickly change. Good will toward the U.S. is large, the study said, but "the real question is how long can the reservoir be tapped without replenishment?" Discussing Soviet offers to trade aid for fishing rights, the study went on:

"The current U.S. fishing difficulties in the region to make the Soviet fisheries offers appear more attractive than perhaps they would otherwise. Secondly, the financial problems of the smaller atoll countries are perceived to be such that cash income even from the Soviet Union would be difficult to refuse."

Contrary to the travel brochures, most of the microstates are economically troubled. They have growing populations, rising numbers of restless unemployed youths, and spreading problems with urbanization, crime, suicide, alcoholism and drug abuse.

As a group, the microstates receive more foreign aid per capita than any other place in the world, although the amount is relatively small because total populations are tiny. But living space is tiny, too, and unhealthy.

Randy Thaman, who heads the University of the South Pacific's school of social and economic development, says the South Pacific is one of the world's most unhealthy places to live. Other parts of the world may be slowly winning battles against diseases. Not this region. Malaria, hepatitis, meningitis, intestinal diseases, tuberculosis, anemia, syphilis and gonorrhea are growing health



problems. There are no sewers, sanitary garbage removal or clean-water sources for most islanders. Thus, diarrhea has become a major killer.

Enormous political, social and economic changes were under way in the region long before the Soviet bear began dangling his toe in these tropical waters. At World War II's end, six Western colonial powers administered island dependencies. Today, most are independent nations or moving toward sovereignty.

By the late 1970s, most had staked claim to waters and resources within 200 miles of their shores in accordance with Law of the Sea deliberations, as did the U.S. and other maritime nations. Instead of a Pacific dotted by island pinpricks, says F. Rawdon Dalrymple, the Australian ambassador to the U.S., "you suddenly had a map where huge areas of the earth's surface were marked off [with claims of] political entities most of which were virtually unknown to the outside world."

#### FIVE MILLION SQUARE MILES

They claim, in fact, about 5.6 million square miles of sovereign territory—an area almost twice the size of the continental U.S., and there is precious little free ocean left. Most of these tiny nations have few land resources to exploit beyond coconuts; the 200-mile economic zones gave regional leaders the hope that for the first time, economic self-sufficiency might be possible.

But fisheries development is only beginning. In the meantime, says the Heritage Foundation study:

"The World War II generation of island leaders is being succeeded by a younger generation, whose concern with economic development and anger over perceived U.S. insensitivity make them susceptible to Soviet offers of economic assistance as well as to pleas by Third World radicals to join the Third World bloc in its anti-West, anti-U.S. and anti-free-market policies."

Despite these trends, the Soviets haven't made much headway until now, largely because of painstaking diplomacy by Australia and New Zealand. "Dealing with these micro- and mini-states requires a very delicate touch—a feel for the cultures involved, close personal contacts and a fine sense of how much is enough," Owen Harries, a former Australian diplomat, wrote in the American magazine *Commentary*.

He added that it was "doubtful whether the U.S. could do it anything like or as well as its allies."

#### ISLAND LEADERS SAY U.S. TUNA POLICY IS MADE BY ASSOCIATION IN SAN DIEGO

AUCKLAND, New Zealand.—Most people think that American foreign policy is made in Washington and carried out by State Department diplomats. But they think otherwise in the island microstates of the South Pacific.

U.S. policy, island leaders charge, is made in San Diego, the home of the American Tunaboat Association, and carried out by poachers who are protected by Washington.

Tuna is the island nations' most important economic resource, and U.S. fishing policy angers them in two ways. First, Washington doesn't recognize their 200-mile economic-zone claims as far as tuna is concerned. Second, the Fisheries Protection Act of 1967 provides that if any nation seizes a U.S. fishing boat, Washington must impose an embargo on all fish products from that nation. The same law also requires Washington to reimburse the boat owner for the cost of the seizure and of recovering the

boat and to pay him the amount of money he would have made fishing if the boat hadn't been stopped.

#### BUCCANEERING BEHAVIOR

"The buccaneering behavior of the American Tunaboat Association" infuriates island countries even more than French nuclear weapons testing in French Polynesia, says the region's news magazine, *Pacific Islands Monthly*.

But U.S. tuna fishermen say they couldn't compete with cheap foreign imports without Washington's protection. August Felando, the president of the American Tunaboat Association, notes that 21 of the 33 boats in the U.S. tuna fleet are currently tied up in bankruptcy proceedings.

Partly because of chicken's increased popularity, tuna prices to fishermen have dropped to about \$700 a ton from \$1,100 a ton four years ago, he says. Fast, modern purse-seiners, with on-board helicopters to locate tuna schools, cost \$10 million five years ago; Mr. Felando says they are for sale at half that now.

Other tuna fleets, from Japan and South Korea, for example, pay island nations annual fees to fish. The U.S. fleet has had similar agreements with a few island nations in the past but has none now. After a visit to the region last summer, Secretary of State George Shultz ordered a speedup of talks on the issue.

#### KIRIBATI-SOVIET PACT

The president of Kiribati, Ieremia Tabai, says that anger over U.S. fishing policy is what propelled his tiny nation to sign a fishing agreement last August with the Soviet Union—Moscow's first ever in the region.

Kiribati is a nation of 62,000 people on 33 tiny islands, including Tarawa, which cost some 3,000 U.S. Marine casualties to take from Japan during World War II. It lives off a tiny copra crop, foreign aid and fishing agreements.

The one-year Soviet accord allows 16 trawlers to fish in a maritime zone of about 14 million square miles. The Soviets paid about 20% more than the going rate for the agreement. Cost: \$1.7 million. In contrast, it cost U.S. taxpayers an estimated \$3.5 million after a single U.S. tuna boat, the *Jeanette Diana*, was seized on poaching charges in June 1984 by the government of the Solomon Islands.

#### IN HONOR OF MAYOR GILL

### HON. FORTNEY H. (PETE) STARK

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 8, 1986

Mr. STARK. Mr. Speaker, northern California is honoring this month Mayor Valance Gill of San Leandro, CA, for a long career of public service well done.

Mayor Gill will be retiring soon, but he leaves as a monument one of the finest cities in California—or any State. San Leandro under his direction, both as a councilman and as a mayor, has become one of the most livable and pleasant neighborhood communities in America. This fresh looking, young-in-spirit city is a product of the work of Val and his fellow activists in city government.

Mayor Gill was born in Jaraiz de la Vera, Spain in 1917. His parents and family came to the beautiful San Francisco Bay area in 1921 and settled in, helping build the East Bay. Val

worked in the area shipyards and for Standard Oil Co. and then for the world-famous Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory, from which he retired in 1973.

But Val started his public service in 1956, when he was elected to the San Leandro City Council. He served for 8 years, and then took an 8-year break, before returning to the council in 1972. That spring, he was elected by his fellow council members as vice mayor, the job he held until his election as mayor in 1978. As mayor he has been a national leader in urban organization efforts to maintain and improve revenue sharing, trade opportunities, and other community development and improvement programs.

Val's record of service is an example of public leadership that we should all admire and strive to emulate. I join Bernice, his wife of 46 years, and all the people of San Leandro, in wishing Mr. Mayor a happy and healthy future.

I would like to list at this point some of the groups that Mayor Gill has worked with in improving the life of the citizens of the East Bay:

Appointed San Leandro's Representative to the Association of Bay Area Governments on 2-6-78. (Was also a member of ABAG's Executive Committee to 7/82.)

Member, United States Conference of Mayors Community Development, Housing and Economic Development Standing Committee.

Alternate Member, Bay Conservation and Development Committee.

Member, Board of Directors, American Red cross (Oakland-South Alameda County Chapter).

Vice Chairman, U.S. Conference of Mayors Task Force on Revenue sharing.

Member, Conference of Mayors Transportation Committee.

Member of Advisory Committee, Muscular Dystrophy Association.

Member, Metropolitan Transportation Commission (appointed 2/83).

Member, National League of Cities General Revenue Sharing Task Force (appointed 1/83).

Member, International Affairs Standing Committee, United States Conference of Mayors.

Member, Honorary Board of Directors, Association for Retarded Citizens—Alameda County.

Chairman of the Subcommittee on Trade of the International Affairs Committee, United States Conference of Mayors.

#### FIFTEENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE BRIDGE

### HON. ROBERT A. BORSKI

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 8, 1986

Mr. BORSKI. Mr. Speaker, I rise to pay tribute to The Bridge, on their 15th anniversary in providing help to young victims of drug and alcohol dependency. The Bridge has played a critically important role in helping young people with problems get their lives together and has become an important part of the community in Philadelphia.

The Bridge was founded in 1971 by a group of concerned Philadelphians. In its 15 years, it

has received the acclaim of community groups like the Better Business Bureau and the Philadelphia County Medical Society. In that time, it has developed into an organization offering comprehensive rehabilitation services through six different programs. These programs include the Adolescent Treatment Program, the Bridge School, Family and Youth Services, Educational Services, and Community Educational Services.

The Bridge offers young victims of chemical dependencies a full range of treatment. It addresses not only the dependency itself but the whole range of problems that a person may have, including personal, social and psychological problems, and educational needs. These programs help provide an environment that is rich and stimulating for Bridge residents and patients. The Bridge also maintains strong links with community organizations and is a leader in efforts to educate everyone about the problems of drug and alcohol dependency, and the needs of people with these problems.

The Bridge has completed 15 years offering critically needed assistance to young people in Philadelphia. Its programs have set a standard for full and effective treatment of chemical dependencies. I join the many grateful Philadelphians who now commend them and express our appreciation for their years of services.

#### STANDARDS ARE NEEDED TO ENSURE PROPER ASBESTOS REMOVAL AND DISPOSAL

**HON. JAMES J. FLORIO**

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, April 8, 1986*

Mr. FLORIO. Mr. Speaker, asbestos contamination in our Nation's schools is a grave problem. More than 15 million children are exposed to deadly asbestos in 30,000 school buildings throughout the country. Presently, there are no Federal regulations dictating how to properly abate asbestos in schools and dispose of the debris. Shoddy abatement work is worse than no clean-up work at all because more hazardous fibers are released into the air than if the asbestos had not been touched. The Environmental Protection Agency [EPA] estimates that 75 percent of all abatement work has been done improperly because without Federal regulations guiding cleanup work, this difficult, dangerous work is often left to disreputable contractors, who intentionally skip safety precautions or use slipshod measures. It is imperative that only fully trained contractors do this cleanup work.

Unfortunately, the problem gets worse. Disposal of asbestos debris when not done correctly can also have potentially deadly results. Recently, several bags of asbestos debris from abatement work were discovered in an abandoned house in Camden, N.J. Luckily, the bags were not damaged, but, if children playing in the house had come across these bags and ripped them open, the results could have been disastrous. Last week, according to the

Camden Courier-Post, those who dumped the bags into the house were arrested.

If EPA had promulgated regulations establishing a contractor accreditation program and regulations prescribing proper disposal of asbestos debris, it is unlikely the problem in Camden would have occurred. The perpetrators were caught in Camden, but who knows how many situations exist around the country where bags have been improperly disposed of and then ripped open by unsuspecting victims or where the dumpers were not identified.

Senator STAFFORD and I have introduced legislation that would force contractors who do school cleanup work to be fully trained and accredited and would require the proper disposal of asbestos debris. The Asbestos Hazard Emergency Response Act of 1986 (H.R. 4311) also establishes a roadmap showing school officials how to properly inspect for hazardous asbestos and how they should clean it up once it is found. Following the establishment of standards, schools will be required to inspect where they have not done so already and prepare and implement cleanup plans for any hazardous asbestos found in buildings.

Proper cleanup only alleviates part of the problem. Asbestos must also be disposed of correctly so situations like the one in Camden can be avoided. We must act now to end this national problem.

I urge my colleagues to cosponsor this legislation and commend the article from the Courier-Post detailing the arrest of the persons who dumped asbestos into the vacant house.

[From the Courier-Post, Mar. 15, 1986]

#### ASBESTOS DUMPING CHARGES LODGED

Camden—Police yesterday charged Bertyn Brown, 33, as the person responsible for leaving six bags of asbestos in a van in South Camden last summer.

Brown, of the 500 block of Viola Street, already in the county jail on other unrelated charges, is accused of violating the city's illegal dumping ordinance and faces imprisonment of up to a year and a fine upon conviction, according to Detective Richard Arensberg.

The detective said Brown, who had been a partner in a firm called Asbestos Removal Inc., of 319 York St., drove the potentially dangerous asbestos to a parking spot in the 400 block of Chestnut Street last summer.

Arensberg said he turned the title to the van over to a man identified as Pete Dixon, formerly of Camden, to settle a debt.

The van sat there until early August, when two Philadelphia men purchased it from Dixon and drove it away. Before leaving, however, they removed the marked bags filled with asbestos and left them in a vacant, city-owned house at 430 Chestnut.

Those two, identified as George McNeil and Cecil Fitzpatrick, were arrested on Monday for violating the illegal dumping ordinance.

Arensberg said the Brown arrest closes the investigation ordered by Mayor Melvin R. "Randy" Primas Jr. on Feb. 13 after he met with concerned South Camden residents who found the asbestos in the building. Primas also ordered the building demolished, and it was, the next day.

#### SALUTE TO CHURCH OF ST. MARK EPISCOPAL

**HON. MAJOR R. OWENS**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, April 8, 1986*

Mr. OWENS. Mr. Speaker, families and neighborhoods have recently received a considerable amount of national attention. Both social scientists and elected officials have been reaffirming the pivotal role of the family in the complex fabric which makes our Nation great. Neighborhoods and the institutions which make up local communities are of vital importance in the process of nurturing strong families. Within the black community, none of the institutions are of greater importance than the church.

For 150 years, the Church of St. Mark Episcopal has stood like a beacon providing services to thousands of individuals who reside in the Crown Heights community and other parts of the 12th Congressional District of Brooklyn.

This stately church is located in the center of the Crown Heights area of Brooklyn and is considered one of the neighborhood's exceptional landmarks. The church was founded in 1835 in the village of Williamsburgh, which was then a suburb of Brooklyn and Manhattan. In 1893 the construction of the Williamsburgh Bridge forced the church to relocate. In 1895 the land on Brooklyn Avenue and Union Street was purchased, and on January 26, 1901 the cornerstone was laid. Reportedly, this was the first stone church of gothic design in Central Brooklyn.

By the time the church celebrated its 100th anniversary in 1935 many changes were taking place—especially the composition of the congregation. The population in Crown Heights was becoming a mixture of blacks of American and West Indian origins as well as whites. Persons of the Caribbean background sought out an Anglican—Episcopal—church to attend, and so the numbers of parishioners grew slowly at first, but with increasing momentum in the last 12 years.

The statement of purpose for this old and venerable institution is: "The Church of St. Mark is a sanctuary for human experience where commitment of families and individuals is being demonstrated through worship and activity." These words convey the direction of St. Mark's ministry for the past 12 years. Since becoming rector, the Reverend Dr. Heron A. Sam has accepted the concept of a shared servanthood in his ministering to his congregation of some 2,000 parishioners. He has sought to make the congregation coreponsible for the church's growth economically, programmatically, and spiritually.

While maintaining the essence and content of worship of the American Episcopal Church, the Church of St. Mark has managed to infuse its devotional life with many features of the Caribbean Anglican church so beloved by its parishioners. There are over 20 active parish organizations carrying out the programs of this busy parish. The Sunday school is attended by some 200 young people.

In addition, a number of community programs have been offered, including nutritional,



recreational, and cultural programs for seniors; youth employment information and activities; and a school for young people from nursery to high school with an enrollment of 800 students.

The church's efforts to respond to the present needs of the community include the heightening of social and political awareness of its parishioners by making available to them information on voting, citizenship, and current issues. The Church of St. Mark Episcopal must also be commended for creating a non-partisan coalition to bring together the many different ethnic groups of Crown Heights in order to deal with common community concerns.

Many religious, social, and cultural events have been sponsored by the church in celebration of this sesquicentennial year. It is a historical milestone in the life of the church parish and for the entire community. The church's commitment to family life, education, and community service will continue to be a major asset to the central Brooklyn area. We salute the work of the church for the past 150 years and we look forward to the continuing contribution of the Church of St. Mark Episcopal for another 150 years.

**A TRIBUTE TO THE REVEREND  
DR. E. MITCHELL MALLETT**

**HON. NORMAN F. LENT**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, April 8, 1986*

Mr. LENT. Mr. Speaker, it is my distinct pleasure to rise today in recognition of a distinguished citizen from my Fourth Congressional District in Long Island, NY, the Reverend Dr. E. Mitchell Mallette. Pastor Mallette has served with distinction for over 30 years as the spiritual leader to the congregation of the Second Baptist Church and the community of Freeport, NY.

Pastor Mallette's family and friends, as well as many members of his congregation at the Second Baptist Church will be honoring him at a testimonial banquet on April 25. At this time, I'd like to take a moment to recognize Pastor Mallette's many accomplishments and contributions to his church and the Freeport community.

Pastor Mallette was called to the ministry at the young age of 12 and became pastor of his first church, the First African Baptist Church of Savannah, GA, at the age of 16. He studied for many years under the late Dr. Ralph Mark Gilbert and, in 1956, he was introduced to the small congregation of the Second Baptist Church in Freeport where he has remained ever since. In May 1971, the degree of doctor of sacred scripture was conferred upon him by the Pillar of Fire Pentecostal Seminary, York, England.

He has dedicated his career to helping people as a teacher, adviser, evangelist, and active member of the Freeport community. Pastor Mallette was appointed to the Freeport Board of Ethics and served as a commissioner of the Freeport Housing Authority for more than 15 years. During his term, a 100-unit senior citizen apartment complex was con-

structed and named in his honor as the "Dr. E. Mitchell Mallette Senior Citizens Apartments."

Committed to spreading the gospel's message and teachings, Dr. Mallette is heard weekly over radio station WTUE, the "Gospel Out-reach Ministry." He is also an accomplished gospel singer who has made several recordings.

Pastor Mallette is beloved by his congregation. Over the past 30 years, he has performed many marriages, blessed many children, and comforted the bereaved. He was watched over and cared for the well-being of his following as he would his own family, and under his guidance and leadership, the Second Baptist Church and congregation has grown and prospered.

I'd like to extend my deepest appreciation to the Reverend Dr. E. Mitchell Mallette for his many years of dedicated service to the Second Baptist Church and the entire Freeport community. And on behalf of his many friends and supporter, I wish him happiness and continued success in the years ahead.

**THE 62D ANNUAL SCOUT'S RECOGNITION EVENING, SAN GABRIEL VALLEY COUNCIL OF THE BOY SCOUTS OF AMERICA**

**HON. CARLOS J. MOORHEAD**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, April 8, 1986*

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this moment to bring to the attention of my distinguished colleagues in the House of Representatives, the "62d Annual Scout's Recognition Evening" of the San Gabriel Valley Council of the Boy Scouts of America to be held Tuesday, April 15, 1986, in Pasadena, CA.

With an expected crowd of 900 people, including dignitaries from the National, State, and local governments, the Scout's Recognition Evening will honor those individuals, packs, and troops who have provided outstanding leadership within the San Gabriel Valley Council.

In keeping with the longstanding tradition of the Boy Scout Councils throughout the Nation, the Council will also be awarding nine "Silver Beaver Awards." This most prestigious of volunteer scouting honors will be presented to Mr. Walter Bacon of the Mission Amigos District; Mr. James R. Campbell and Mr. Lawrence A. Harrington of the Lucky Baldwin District; Mr. Bill Hayes, Mr. Kenneth A. Lane, Jr. and Mrs. Rosanne Mueller of the Valle Del Sol District; Mr. Bruce G. McGregor of the Rose Bowl District; Mr. James A. Meskan of the Golden Eagle District and Mr. James H. Chaney of the Council.

Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to congratulate the recipients of the Silver Beaver Award and to thank them for the immeasurable contributions they have made to the community in general and scouting in particular.

**THE RIGHT TO EXIST; THE  
RIGHT TO BE FREE**

**HON. MARK D. SILJANDER**

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, April 8, 1986*

Mr. SILJANDER. Mr. Speaker, for 30 years the Cyprus dispute has caused animosity and mistrust between Greeks and Turks. It has affected relations with the United States and within the NATO alliance, of which both nations are an integral part.

Now, U.N. Secretary-General Peres de Cuellar has presented both sides in the dispute with a Draft Framework Agreement in an effort to bring about a peaceful settlement of the dispute. While both the Turkish Cypriots and the Greek Cypriots are currently studying the terms of the proposed agreement, there is reason for optimism.

Against this backdrop, the respected syndicated columnist Georgie Anne Geyer recently visited the northern part of the island. What she saw and heard while in northern Cyprus were recorded in her column which appeared March 27, 1986, in the Washington Times and more than 40 newspapers across the United States.

The objective of the Turkish Cypriots is really quite simple. As Rauf Denktash, leader of the Turkish Cypriots, is quoted by Ms. Geyer: " \* \* \* the right to exist and the right to be free" is their quest.

In an effort to aid in a better understanding of both sides of this dispute, I am pleased to call my colleagues' attention to Ms. Geyer's column.

**VISIT TO A CYPRIOT COUNTRY THAT DOESN'T  
EXIST**

(By Georgie Anne Geyer)

NICOSIA, CYPRUS.—On Cyprus Airways maps, a Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus does not exist. When you ask here at the Hilton Hotel to call the "Turkish side," the operators tell you crisply that there are "no telephone numbers there."

Yet across a meandering "border" that stretches across this gloriously beautiful island, there exists, since Nov. 15, 1983, a strange little "nation" or place of its own.

"We had to establish our state," the Turkish "President" Rauf Denktash told me in his home office in Turkish Nicosia. "We were left with no alternative but to show to the world that a second people existed with a vested right in the island of Cyprus: the right to exist and the right to be free."

"Is it a state?" this heavyset and intelligent natural leader asked. "Well, we have a legislative, judicial, and administrative system. We are completely independent, with a multiparty democracy, with full press freedom, and with our own army. We have our own budget and we tax ourselves. "The establishment of the state had become a necessity after 20 years because people could not live stateless forever."

The last time I had been to the Turkish side was in 1974. The Greek and Turkish bodies and souls of the legendary island of Cyprus were in a nasty war that started when certain of the less palatable Greek political forces tried to unify the island with Greece. Turkish troops swept over the island, and it was soon totally divided, as

refugees poured into their own national parts of the island.

And today a dozen years later? In order to cross from the thriving Greek Cypriot side, you still walk the long, tree-shaded No Man's Land to the country that doesn't exist. Yet there are customs inspectors on both sides. They check your passport . . .

I looked around curiously. It had all changed, a lot. Turkish Nicosia is bustling now. It is not nearly so prosperous as the Greek side, but it is quite alive. I visited "The Museum of Barbarism," which shows how the Greeks massacred a family of Turks. I see a lot of pictures of the great Turkish leader Ataturk, showing the reinvigorated ties to Turkey. I sit having lunch atop the modern Saray Hotel.

Yes, Turkish Cyprus exists, but as what? That is the question nobody seems to be able to answer.

Looking into the "Cyprus question" makes something like, say, the Central American question seem easy. The history here is a twisting maze, complicated by a history of unnatural British legalism imposed upon a world of Byzantine treacheries.

Looking only at 1974—the last of many crises between the two peoples doomed to inhabit this beautiful island—the Turks say that after all it was the Greek side that tried to upset the independent Cyprus agreement. The Greeks say fine, but now we are a different Greek government, that it is Turkey which rules in Turkish Cyprus, and that the two sides should be united again.

"There is no willingness to have confederation—or federation," President Denktash tells me, speaking of the Greek side's insistence upon re-establishing the unity of the island under a central government. "What they want is domination in a country in which Turkish Cypriots are granted certain rights. They do not really want a solution based upon partnership."

As I walk around in the glimmering Cyprus sunlight, beautiful valleys and mountains sweeping out from the divided city that is Nicosia, I try to think over this curious, and different, situation, which in fact speaks to other situations in the world today.

After World War II particularly, new countries were created all over the postcolonial world. In these countries, peoples, tribes, clans, and religions were all mixed up. The new loyalty to "state" was to overcome those old blood loyalties.

Now we see that, whether in Lebanon, in Cyprus, in Africa, or in the Middle East, people are returning to the old loyalties.

This is not an ideal situation. The Greek Cypriots have a point in saying that the island will develop only if united. And the Turkish "state" has no international recognition whatsoever. And yet . . .

It was a nasty, if now largely forgotten, war here in 1974. And President Denktash constantly reminds people that, since the division, not one person has been killed.

I find myself thinking that, after all, there is realistically something to be said for people having their own national home and group—if they can then use that integrity to approach with respect the other national groups around them.

## A TRIBUTE TO DEANE DANA

### HON. DAN LUNGREN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 8, 1986

Mr. LUNGREN. Mr. Speaker, for many years the United States and the State of Israel have enjoyed a unique relationship based on mutual respect, friendship, and trust. The years have also seen many citizens of both our great nations give unselfishly of themselves in the promotion of that relationship. It is an honor to recognize one of those individuals, Deane Dana, a member of the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors.

In recognition of his efforts in the promotion of peace and safety in Israel, and for his part in strengthening the overall relationship between our countries, Supervisor Dana was recently awarded the Torch of Freedom Award by the Government of Israel. Mr. Speaker, in appreciation of Deane Dana's dedication to this vitally important cause, I would request that the resolution granting this honor be placed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

#### DEANE DANA

Whereas, Los Angeles County Supervisor Deane Dana will be accorded the Torch of Freedom Award by the State of Israel at the Salute to the Business, Labor and Cultural Communities of California on Wednesday, March 27, 1986 for his lifelong dedications and concern for people everywhere; and

Whereas, the traditional mutual friendship, respect, and esteem between the United States and Israel have been reaffirmed by every President since Israel achieved independence; and

Whereas, the economic stability of Israel is fortified by the Israel Bond program, now in its 35th year of providing urgently needed finances to develop every major aspect of Israel's resources; and

Whereas, Israel Bond dollar remain in the United States to pay for American goods and services produced by American labor and transported to Israel in American transport; and

Whereas, Deane Dana has supported the efforts of the Israel Bond program, recognizing that only in an economically secure world can all citizens maintain their dignity; and

Whereas, because of his deep consideration for the less fortunate, he created the first Los Angeles County shelter program for homeless families and has taken the lead in establishing national and international business ties to generate a more sound economic environment; and now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the ——— That Deane Dana is hereby highly commended for his outstanding public record of diligent and dedicated service and concern for his community and sincere warm congratulations are extended for being the recipient of Israel's Torch of Freedom Award.

## RADIO MARTI: A REMARKABLE SUCCESS

### HON. DANTE B. FASCELL

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 8, 1986

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, in the past 12 months, the Voice of America's Radio Marti has proven to be a remarkable success, promoting the cause of freedom by bringing unbiased news to the people of Cuba—and, I am delighted to add, confounding the island's Communist leaders while allaying fears in this country that the station would be broadcasting "propaganda" rather than facts.

These fears quickly proved groundless, and even early-on critics now concede that Radio Marti's broadcasting has been fair, accurate, and even-handed. And the facts, it seems, are proving far more damaging to Fidel Castro than any propaganda could ever be.

Castro has reacted, forbidding listening, threatening reprisals, attempting to jam broadcasts. More importantly, he has unwittingly underscored the effectiveness of the VOA broadcasts by responding to news reports that were not carried by his state-controlled media, and by revising local programming in an effort to compete with the popular broadcasts of Radio Marti.

In the arsenal of democracy, the truth remains our greatest weapon, and the one most feared by our adversaries. And, I would note in the days of Gramm-Rudman, one of the most cost-effective.

I have been a long-time advocate for, and supporter of, Radio Marti, which began broadcasting from south Florida last May 20.

Castro promptly responded by suspending an agreement to take back more than 2,700 criminals and mentally disturbed Cubans dumped on our shores during the Mariel exodus of 1980. This led the New York Times to propose in a recent editorial that Radio Marti be cut off the air in hopes of reviving the agreement.

In the resulting uproar, the paper looked into the matter further, then took the unusual step of editorially reversing its position and concluding that "the station appears to have found a responsive audience and filled a void in Cubans' information."

The Times added: "Contrary to our fears last year, it has avoided propaganda and supplemented, not duplicated, commercial Spanish-language broadcasts from Florida."

I commend the Times for investigating further, and for the courage to admit it had been mistaken. We cannot allow Fidel Castro to use the Mariel emigres to blackmail the United States into taking Radio Marti off the air; his desperation to end the broadcasts, I submit, are a strong justification to continue them.

Radio Marti has recently increased its daily broadcasts to 17½ hours, added variety to its music and entertainment programs and rearranged its schedule to add bold new programs and reach new audiences.

Interviews with recent arrivals from Cuba indicate listenership to Radio Marti is extensive and growing. When Cuban media failed to report the death of a prominent Cuban politi-



cal prisoner but Radio Marti did, more than 500 people showed up at the funeral.

The young people of Cuba, exposed to unrelenting Communist propaganda, find Radio Marti one of the few sources of accurate and unbiased information; they are among the station's most loyal listeners.

Increased broadcasting has severely strained Radio Marti's facilities. New studios are being constructed, and shortly the Marathon site will be upgraded with a new transmitter and refurbished antenna system.

Meanwhile, VOA is closely monitoring a new superstation which Cuba has put on the air. Called Radio Taino, it purports to be a tourist-information station but it is the most powerful station operating from the island.

Radio Marti was made possible through the strong, bipartisan support of the Congress, and the experience of the past year has more than justified our enthusiasm for this program.

Our colleagues will find interesting a recent analysis of Radio Marti in the February 19 issue of the *Times of Americas*.

The article follows:

[From the *Times of the Americas*, Feb. 19, 1986]

#### RADIO MARTI GETS GOOD MARKS

(By Jon Basil Utley)

"Very professional" are the words one repeatedly hears from critics about Radio Marti. Now in its sixth month, it's receiving high praise from the Cuban American community, and even many of its earlier opponents now state admiration for its quality. It's already had a noticeable effect upon Cuban government radio and TV programming.

News Director Jay Mallin, formerly with *Time* and the *Washington Times* says, "the most effective weapon is a continuous stream of accurate news, something the Cuban people haven't had for 26 years. We seek balance and calmness, we try to give a well-rounded, credible news service. Our weekly roundtable discussions even include opposition viewpoints to give credibility. Havana says we're 'old fashioned' and officially ignores us, but there is some low key interference now with our AM broadcasts."

Programming includes four hours daily of news and information, music and special features. Reports concentrate on news about censored happenings inside Cuba, news about Cuban soldiers abroad, historical documentaries about past events under Castro's rule, news of happenings in other communist countries, and world news. According to travelers' reports and information from families of Miami's Cuban community, it is widely listened to inside Cuba, this despite jail sentences or fines for persons caught listening. The station has been overheard on taxicab radios and at least once from a Cuban police car. Taped Radio Marti music, complete with the voice of the announcer, was reportedly used at a party held by the Union of Communist Youth. A popular soap opera, "Esmeralda," is widely listened to as well as horoscopes, a forbidden fare in communist nations. Church services are broadcast each Sunday. They are very widely listened to. The radio also reaches other Caribbean nations. *Time* magazine's correspondent in Nicaragua told me that she can receive it on her car radio.

Audience reaction is studied from interviews with travelers and new arrivals from Cuba. (Contrary to Radio Marti, the Voice of America's Spanish language service is criticized by many as being particularly weak.

Indeed, the U.S. Embassy in Nicaragua has reportedly sent a cable complaining about its news coverage on Nicaragua. The Spanish service also uses very few of the pro-supply side and anti-marxist programs put out by other VOA services.)

#### DOCUMENTARIES

Marti's feature programming includes such studies as a documentary series titled "Cuba without Censorship" focusing on events inside Cuba which the Cuban government has suppressed. One titled, "The Canimar Massacre," told of the Cuban navy's 1980 shooting and sinking of a pleasure boat loaded with families which has been hijacked by soldiers trying to flee. Another described and refuted official myths about Fidel Castro's first military action in 1953 attacking former dictator Batista's troops at Moncada. Another series of broadcasts analyzed the conversion of French leftists to anti-communism and reported on their new recognition (and criticism) of Cuba's marxism.

Audiences have been told about arrests in Las Villas province of workers trying to form a trade union and about the conditions of Cuban soldiers in Africa, including interviews with Angolan resistance (Unita) spokesman. Many programs deal with Angola where disease is reported to be widespread and 6,000 to 7,000 Cubans have died. The dead are buried in Africa, the wounded sent to East Germany. Other programs include interviews with Cuban defectors and debates about issues of the day. Marti also tells Cubans about what foreign correspondents living in Cuba report to their home countries about Cuba, something Cuba's official news organs often covered up.

Ernesto Betancourt, Radio Marti's director, says that Cuban government response has not been what was expected. The programs are not being jammed. Betancourt thinks that it's a matter of personal pride for Fidel Castro, who considers himself as the world's greatest communicator, that he would be admitting defeat if he ordered jamming. He says that Castro thinks he can compete, that he can still win over Cubans with this own messages. Officially the government radio, after initial denunciations, now ignores Marti's existence, but indirectly it tries to respond to Marti programming. If Marti were jammed, some short wave broadcasts would get through anyway, and the station would be authorized to buy time on local Miami stations.

But major changes have been undertaken by Cuban government broadcasts. Betancourt says that they include timing new, livelier, imported TV programs to coincide with key Marti news broadcasts, 18 new programs, greater emphasis on entertainment for youth, and a livelier format for news broadcasts. Sources are reported, something not previously often done, so as to try to show credibility like Radio Marti. For the first time, the domestic radio also gives Cubans reports direct from its own foreign correspondents. The Government has even started a call-in show to try to show responsiveness to the public and is putting on its own soap opera. Betancourt says that the Cubans dropped their main 17-year-old program, called "Political information," and replaced it with straight news. The government radio even now broadcasts entertainment programs without propaganda and even modern music for young Cubans. Betancourt added that the Cubans now take satellite news from American TV stations to

show anything bad they can about life in the United States.

Ernesto Betancourt, 28 years ago, was a supporter of Fidel Castro, like most middle class Cubans at the time. Later he served in Castro's Cuba as a director of a bank and of the monetary exchange division. After fleeing Cuba he worked for 16 years in the OAS rising to Budget Director. Like many ex-leftists, Betancourt is said to know how Cuban marxists think and therefore how to combat them. "He knows how Washington functions, he'll be able to get things done," says Frank Calzon, a supporter of Betancourt and director of the staunchly anti-communist Cuban American National Foundation. Humberto Medrano is the deputy director. He is a former columnist and radio commentator from Miami's Cuban community.

The concept of a station with news specifically about matters of local concern to Cubans follows the Radio Free Europe pattern for East Europeans. Voice of America broadcasts are designed and meant for all Latin Americans, not totally isolated peoples such as the Cubans.

Local American stations in Miami, even with Spanish broadcasts, are mostly irrelevant for island Cubans. Marti is relevant, and it has the financial resources to research stories and develop foreign news sources, with "stringers" geared to covering news of interest to Cubans, for example about troops in Africa. It has set up a network of 60 part-time foreign reporters to follow worldwide news involving Cubans.

For conservatives a key reason for establishing a new radio station was to bring in fresh, dedicated people, and to keep its administration out of the hands of foreign service officers, many of whom, as with the Voice of America, are considered to be too accommodative and bureaucratic, too loyal to their own "old boy" network, and simply unable to program effective responses to hard line marxism. Foreign Service officers are trained as diplomats, not as activists promoters of freedom, that is "propagandists" in the positive sense of the word.

Indeed, State Department officers assigned to the information services often consider it a dead end for their careers. This is a very different concept of the battle to that of the communists who put their most capable people into information and propaganda efforts. Such officers are far more likely to advance their careers than mere diplomats.

Radio Marti's establishment also had bipartisan support, even including such liberals as Senator Metzenbaum, Senator Ted Kennedy spoke on the first day's broadcasts. Often quoted Reagan critic, Wayne Smith, the Carter appointed former chief of the U.S. interests section in Havana, expressed "great respect" for director Ernesto Betancourt's "honor and competence" although he said he disagreed with Betancourt in many areas. Larry Birns, director of the leftist Washington think tank, the Council on Hemispheric Affairs, says "its professionalism and competence are making (Radio Marti) influential."

News editor Mallin thinks that perhaps Marti's detractors expected shrill or one-sided programming. Betancourt says that Marti must carry out Congress' mandate to give a balanced view and to include various American opinions. Also Marti is under the overall jurisdiction of the Voice of America so it does not have the same independence as Radio Free Europe.

The Cuban government itself spends the equivalent of hundreds of millions of dollars

on radio broadcasting to the whole world. It sends in six languages plus numerous special Indian dialects to Latin America. It relays Soviet programs to the Americas, while its programs are relayed by Russia to Europe, the Mediterranean and North Africa. Obviously the communists consider radio to be a vital element in their battle.

For many years the U.S. ignored its international radio during the detente era. Today the Voice of America still has the oldest transmitters and is still unusually the hardest to hear compared to Russian, British, and West Germany. Marti uses a 20 year old VOA transmitter. It is, however, getting a new one next year.

The importance of just getting true information to people living under communism is often underestimated by Americans, because our own experience with news is so different. Many knowledgeable anti-communists consider that expenditures and attention to the war of ideas have been woefully neglected by Washington. Some even think that communist societies would implode upon themselves if their people really knew what the rest of the world was like. Certainly communist regimes seem deathly afraid of their citizens getting any access to outside information. The Soviets spend an estimated \$1 billion more just on jamming than America spends on all its Voice of America broadcasting.

Radio Marti is fulfilling an important role. Its eventual effect remains to be judged. Like Radio Free Europe it has already become a principal source for news behind the Iron Curtain. Also like Radio Free Europe it is forbidden to instigate revolt. However, it's fair to assume that the unrest, and eased dictatorships for some East Europeans, is largely because the peoples there are so knowledgeable of what life is like in the outside world.

Radio Marti represents the first time that Washington has so concerned itself with trying to influence events outside Cuba. Armando Valladares, the famous 20 year-long imprisoned Cuban poet, was asked at congressional hearings about what the U.S. could best do to promote change in Cuba. He replied, "At present, the best service would be by giving the Cuban people access to information."

#### REMEMBERING THE "CHALLENGER" ASTRONAUTS

**HON. JOHN P. MURTHA**

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, April 8, 1986*

Mr. MURTHA. Mr. Speaker, I wanted to share with the Members of Congress a poem written recently by a constituent of mine concerning the tragic death of the *Challenger* Astronauts.

The poem was written by Mildred Metro of Seward shortly after the tragic accident and she read it in church the following Sunday placing seven red, white, and blue carnations on the altar.

I submit the poem for the RECORD.

FEB. 1, 1986.

#### A TRIBUTE TO SEVEN SOULS

The happy smiles, the joyful waves they showed, on that tragic day.  
A day many will remember in many, different ways.

People cheering, flags waving, eyes closed in prayer.

Praying for their loved ones, as they waited there.

A second can be a lifetime, we don't think of it that way.

But Seven Souls saw the Face of God on that fateful day.

Their families became our families, God meant us to be one.

Their sorrows, our sorrows, losing a Mother, Father, Daughter and a Son.

We cried our tears, said our prayers, gave love to ease their pain.

Keeping our Faith in God, believing His Word, we shall see them again.

So say your prayer for the Seven, all so brave and strong.

Remember God talked to them; God walked with them, the day he called them home.

God Loves us all.

#### NATIONAL STUDENT LOBBY REPRESENTATIVES VOICE CONCERNS ABOUT STUDENT LOANS

**HON. BARBARA BOXER**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, April 8, 1986*

Mrs. BOXER. Mr. Speaker, on February 14, 1986, in a hearing before the Committee on the Budget in San Francisco, California, I had the privilege of hearing the testimony of Tom Malinowski and Edith Kaneshiro. They were representing the National Student Lobby and thousands of students across the Nation who are concerned about their chances of completing a college education because of threatened Federal cutbacks in funding of student loans.

I call the attention of my colleagues to their eloquent words. I also intend to send a copy of their testimony to President Reagan in the hope that he will be moved to reconsider his position on a matter which reaches to the heart of the future of this great nation—full access to higher education. Their statements follow:

**TOM MALINOWSKI, NATIONAL STUDENT LOBBY**

I have been a student at UC-Berkeley for three years now, and during that time, and especially during the time I have worked for student government, I have met many students who receive federal financial aid benefits. And I can say with complete assurance that they fit the profile presented to you by Edith Kaneshiro. The vast majority come from low income families. They work hard during the summer, they work hard during the academic year, and they work hard in school which, at Berkeley, constitutes a full-time job in itself.

They plan to repay society with interest for the investment that was made in them, and little of their great promise would be fulfilled if it were not for the chance to go to college.

Gramm-Rudman-Hollings and the President's budget seek to cut the deficit. But they administer the necessary pain selectively.

Education comprises less than two percent of the federal budget. It will account for six percent of the cuts under the Gramm-Rudman Sequester and eight percent of the

cuts under the President's budget proposal. The fiscal year 1987 budget, coupled with the linear reductions in the Pell Grant Program, will result in a 28 percent cut in the student financial assistance budget. This will, in turn, result in an average loss to Berkeley students receiving financial aid of \$700 per student.

It is estimated by the Department of Education that about 1.7 million students will lose all of their benefits. This means that over 2,000 students at the Berkeley Campus alone will lose their benefits.

Now, how are these savings to be achieved? In some of the silliest ways imaginable. A case in point is the proposal to combine the Supplemental Educational Opportunity Grants with a work/study program with an overall funding cut of over 60 percent. It can reasonably be said that work/study is the best financial aid program in existence. It encourages students to work for their benefits. It does not cause indebtedness, and funding is shared by the employer and government. And yet this valuable program is being cut more than just about anything else.

Supplemental grants go specifically to the neediest of all students and these, too, are facing the largest cuts. This just does not make sense, it does not make good public policy, and I simply cannot go back to campus and explain this to students. It has been argued that financial aid is taken advantage of by students who do not need it. Yet randomized cuts like these do not differentiate between honest and dishonest recipients. 1.7 million students might lose their federal aid. But has the Department of Education documents somewhere that these 1.7 million are cheaters? No. They have no idea whether those being asked to sacrifice are deserving or not; not even an idea whether the level of dishonesty is significant or insignificant. Weeding out cheaters in this way is like punishing ten innocent suspects in order to nab one guilty criminal. It is a lazy way to make public policy.

The shattering loss to the needy students at Berkeley could be justified by a commensurate loss to students who are well off. My own case I think is interesting, and I would like the Committee to compare it to that of Edith.

I do not receive aid. I come from a fairly well-to-do family that can afford to fund my education. I am a recipient of the Harry S. Truman Scholarship which alone is enough to fund my entire education. I am also employed by the Associated Students. I can afford to sacrifice. I can afford to pay a little more in taxes. But Gramm-Rudman does not touch me in any way. In order to protect me from higher taxes, even though I can afford them, people like Edith are being asked to sacrifice. That just does not make me feel very good. I am more than willing to pay a few more cents at the gas pump in order to help her out.

I am also willing to see a reasonable increase or a slow-down in defense spending. Defense is crucial. I was born in Poland, so I have a realistic view of the Soviet Union. With regard to that country, I believe that the greatest harm it is capable of doing us is to scare us into abandoning education and into ignoring egalitarianism. These are the things which make us strong. If the Soviets hurt their economy by diverting resources from things like education and domestic programs, why must we emulate their mistake?



I bring up these broader points because I think that when we talk about the budget we talk about more than just dollars and cents. We talk about national priorities. Let us keep education as a priority.

EDITH KANESHIRO, NATIONAL STUDENT LOBBY

As of today, I believe that college is not restricted to the upper middle class. Talks of reducing student aid make me wonder whether or not a college education would be limited to this elite. If student aid is going to be drastically reduced, I believe that college will be for these select few, and I will not be a part of it.

I am a UC student who depends upon a PELL grant, a CAL grant, a GSL, and various merit scholarships, and I am not unique. There are many other students like myself.

At the Berkeley Campus, I work as an equal opportunity affirmative action peer advisor. In this role, I am continually reminded of the many students who depend on financial aid.

If financial aid is going to be reduced according to these proposed cuts, these are a few of the effects which I foresee.

First of all, reducing financial aid will change the face of the university. It is not a coincidence that many Black, Hispanic, Native-American, and Asian students depend on financial aid. Therefore, a reduction made will most likely lessen the minority student population.

Secondly, reducing financial aid will consequently force students to work a good number of hours. This can have an adverse effect on the student. Freshmen and sophomores are considered high risk students, in that they are still trying to adjust to the university system. If forced to work, they will be put in a greater risk group. They will be the ones most likely to drop out. Many students who work while in school do poorly in school.

Thirdly, many qualified and deserving high school students will have little hope of attending college. I have many friends who have stayed at the junior college level because a university education would be too expensive.

And, most importantly, I think a cutback will greatly affect the quality of education in the classroom. When students have to divide their time between work and school, students seem to be less productive in the classroom. I can say that it is physically and psychologically exhausting to be a student.

In addition, college is expensive and is getting more expensive every year. Many students come to our office worrying about interest rates on loans, worrying about the debts they will be accumulating, and worrying about the effects that working will have on their grades. I, myself, have these worries, too. If financial aid were reduced, I would not be able to attend college. My sister, my three brothers, and I will constitute the first generation in our family to go to college and to graduate from college. Federal student aid has affected us for the last five years and will affect us for the next seven or eight.

If federal aid was limited, I and my siblings would not be able to attend college, let alone attend the college of our choice. It costs me approximately \$7,000 a year to attend Berkeley. Tuition is \$1,300; books and supplies about \$400; housing about \$3,200; and figure about a thousand for utilities and laundry, et cetera, about \$1,500 a year. And I receive about \$4,400 in grants and scholarships and \$2,500 from a GSL. From my work, I earn about \$250 a month.

It is very expensive to go to school. It is expensive to buy books. It is expensive to live in a dorm. It is expensive to find cheaper housing than a dorm. And many students have to drop out because they cannot meet these expenses. And many low-income students would probably not qualify for market rate loans.

It is quite difficult for single parents to finance their children's educations, and it is quite difficult for two working parents to finance a college education. Both my parents work. My father is a gardener and my mother works in food service. It would be virtually impossible for my parents to send all five of us to college.

Realizing that I was going to college, I assumed my own responsibilities. I worked throughout high school and I still work while in college. Yet this is not enough. Without financial aid, without a college education, I could never become the teacher that I wish to be. Student aid is not a hand-out; it is an investment. We are not here to have a good time. We have goals that can be realized only through a higher education. Eventually, we will be productive tax paying citizens; yet without an education, these things will never happen.

### A TRIBUTE TO SENATOR STROM THURMOND

#### HON. FLOYD SPENCE

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 8, 1986

Mr. SPENCE. Mr. Speaker, on April 2, 1986, the State of South Carolina conferred upon its senior U.S. Senator, STROM THURMOND, one of its greatest honors in hanging his official portrait in the chamber of the State senate.

This tribute is reserved for our State's most distinguished leaders, and Senator THURMOND certainly belongs among them because of his lifetime of distinguished and devoted service to South Carolina and our entire Nation.

Mr. Speaker, this ceremony was a moving testimonial to the courage, integrity, devotion to duty, and vision that have characterized STROM THURMOND's life and public service career.

He is a man loved and revered by his fellow South Carolinians, regardless of party affiliation or political philosophy, and the portrait ceremony was solid proof of the respect in which people hold him. Democrats and Republicans alike, three former South Carolina Governors, members of the State senate, State and Federal judges, members of the South Carolina House of Representatives, and hundreds of everyday people jammed the small Senate chamber last week to witness the dedication of his official portrait.

It is only fitting that Senator THURMOND's portrait be displayed in the historic State senate chamber, where he began his statewide political career that would eventually encompass service as a State circuit judge, decorated war veteran, Governor, Presidential candidate, and U.S. Senator.

His service in the Senate spans almost 32 years, and the record of accomplishment he has compiled for South Carolina and, indeed, our Nation as a whole, is nothing short of amazing.

Three words, inscribed on a plaque affixed to Senator THURMOND's portrait, best describe his life and career: educator, soldier, statesman. STROM THURMOND has excelled in all of those endeavors, and the people of South Carolina and America have been the beneficiaries of his service. That, perhaps, is the highest tribute to STROM THURMOND: That he has dedicated his entire life to unselfishly serving his fellow man, his State, and his Nation.

So that my colleagues can know more about this great tribute to Senator THURMOND, the program from the portrait dedication, Senator THURMOND's address, a letter from President Reagan, and some selected newspaper articles about the ceremony follow:

REMARKS BY SENATOR STROM THURMOND (R-SC) AT THE DEDICATION OF HIS OFFICIAL PORTRAIT, STATE SENATE CHAMBER, COLUMBIA, SC, APRIL 2, 1986, 3 P.M.

Governor Riley; Lt. Governor Daniel; Senate President Pro Tempore Dennis; Chmn. Courson and other Members of the Portrait Committee; Members of Finance Committee; Members of Selection Committee; Reverend Meetze; Reverend Glenn; Distinguished Members of the South Carolina Senate; members of the Thurmond family; Mr. Del Priore; Honored Guests; Ladies and Gentlemen:

I stand before you today humbled by your tribute, and yet deeply grateful for all of your generous words of praise. As your United States Senator from South Carolina for almost 32 years, and as a former Governor and State Senator, I am no stranger to this chamber. However, today I feel as though I am visiting it for the very first time.

Indeed, I feel much as I did 54 years ago when, as a young attorney and farmer from Edgefield County, I was first elected to this distinguished body. On that day, I entered this historic Chamber, awed by its greatness and majesty, and intensely proud of my birthright as a South Carolinian.

To have my portrait displayed in this revered place, is simply a tribute beyond description for my family and for me.

Yet, it is an experience that is somewhat unsettling. Who would not feel overwhelmed to have his portrait hang near those who long ago established their place in history as individuals who built this State and challenged its citizens to dream daringly and accomplish great things?

Their dreams live on in this Statehouse, just as they live on in our hearts. They challenged us to renounce selfishness and cowardice and to aspire instead to serve our State and Nation with courage and conviction.

These great people—their valor, compassion, strength, and vision—are more than a legacy for South Carolina. They stand out as historical giants for all Americans. Their names are as familiar to us as those of old friends: Calhoun, Marion, Sumter, Hampton, Tillman, Jackson, and Byrnes/just to name a few. Their advice and wisdom, some of it more than a century old, continues to echo through these halls.

Listen carefully and you can hear it:

It was President Andrew Jackson who said: "One man with courage makes a majority." He knew a great deal about courage both as a valiant soldier and later as President of the United States.

Senator John C. Calhoun, who later became Vice President warned that "liberty is harder to preserve than to obtain," spent

his entire lifetime fighting to protect that most precious human commodity—liberty.

The place of South Carolina's leaders looms large in American History, and the role our great State played in our Nation's founding and struggle for independence will forever be a source of pride for us and for generations to come.

Many of these people were present at America's birth, when we were a bold, young Nation, alive with the spirit of freeing ourselves from the tyranny of a British king.

They were the signers of our Declaration of Independence and our Constitution, like the Rutledges and Pickneys; the merchants who pledged their fortunes, and the soldiers who fought and gave their lives for a risky experiment in self-determination.

We should never forget that South Carolinians paid a heavy price in winning our freedom. More tears were shed, more blood was spilled, and more battles and engagements fought in South Carolina than in any other State during the Revolutionary War.

It was on those smoke-filled battlefields of Fort Moultrie, Kings Mountain and Cowpens—battles which would ultimately determine the outcome of our war for independence—that our forefathers cast their lot with the future, and forged their commitment to freedom.

History surrounds us here, and it is vitally important that we take stock of what has gone before us. The past is our roadmap for the future; and if we listen, it is our constant teacher about what is yet to come.

"Those who do not study the past," it has been said, "are destined to repeat it." That is more than good advice; it is a fact of life.

For it is in our history that we can draw our strengths as a people and reject our weaknesses; we can see where man has gloried in his wisdom and failed in his excesses.

There is little that is uniquely new to historians. The strategies of war, for instance, remain virtually unchanged from ages ago. Only our weapons have become more sophisticated and fearsome. Likewise, the past can be our teacher about the downfall of democracies. We need not look far to see what toppled the mighty empires like Rome and Greece, and what gave rise to despots and dictators.

Therefore, as we move into the 21st Century, let us take the best of our past with us, and leave the worst of it behind.

Let us leave behind the failed policies which seek to strip our people of their initiative and self-reliance; and our State and local governments of their rightful powers and responsibilities, making each a servant to Washington bureaucrats, instead of a master of their own destiny.

Let us reject selfish philosophies which preach that there are no moral absolutes—no rights and no wrongs—only an inexhaustible pursuit of personal pleasure at any cost.

Let us discard the misguided belief that our people, by virtue of their birthright alone, are somehow entitled to a guaranteed way of life, without personal sacrifice, hard work, or struggle.

Let us repudiate those who would weaken our ability to defend ourselves against enemies, both foreign and domestic, which seek our demise as a democracy.

Finally, let us dismiss the mistaken concept that there are only rights, not responsibilities, as citizens of this great State and Nation, and that our people can reap the benefits of living in America without ever having to support or defend her.

These forces can do more than diminish our character and resolve as a people, left unchallenged, they threaten our very existence as the greatest Nation on Earth.

Let us, instead, recommit ourselves to those virtues and strengths which built this republic; to the standards and sacrifice of our forefathers; to the concept of individual initiative and hard work; and to a strong and abiding belief in God and Country. These principles have always sustained our people.

We must also rekindle that spirit of "trusteeship"—that belief that we are here on this earth, not merely to consume without replenishment, but to build a better, more secure future for the next generation.

Government has become too big and too intrusive, as we have repeatedly called upon it to cure each and every social and economic ill that can only be conquered through individual enterprise and community involvement.

It is important to remember that America did not achieve greatness through a dependence on its government. Our real strengths have always sprung from individuals, not from Government institutions.

By reaffirming a true commitment to our State and Nation, and to the values which propelled us forward, America will always be a shining beacon of freedom and opportunity for the world.

As South Carolinians, ours is a proud heritage of leadership and sacrifice. Let us join together today—just as our ancestors did more than two centuries ago—and go bravely into the future, "prepared," as our State Seal proudly proclaims, "In Mind and Resources," and firm in knowledge that we are the true caretakers of the American Dream.

Thank you again for this tremendous honor, and may God bless each of you.

THE WHITE HOUSE,

Washington, March 10, 1986.

HON. STROM THURMOND,  
President Pro Tempore, of the U.S. Senate,  
Washington, DC.

DEAR STROM: The South Carolina Senate, I hear, is dedicating an official portrait of the Senior United States Senator from that great State. Congratulations! Even bigger congratulations should go to the people of South Carolina for keeping you in the U.S. Senate for so many years.

You have served your state and your nation with distinction and devotion. As a decorated veteran of World War II, as Governor, as United States Senator, and as Senate President pro tempore, you have given your all to preserve the bedrock principles that make America the admiration of the world. And through it all you've displayed the sense of joy and devotion to duty that we all love in you.

Nancy joins me in sending heartfelt best wishes. God bless you.

Sincerely,

RONALD REAGAN.

[From the Florence Morning News, Apr. 3, 1986]

#### THURMOND PORTRAIT UNVEILED IN SENATE

COLUMBIA.—U.S. Sen. Strom Thurmond, praised as a statesman who redefined public service, was honored Wednesday with the unveiling of his portrait in the state Senate chamber where his political career began.

"There are few men or women who have committed so much of themselves to the people as Strom Thurmond," said Gov. Dick Riley, one of a host of dignitaries attending the ceremony.

Most South Carolinians feel they know Thurmond personally because constituent service has been a hallmark of his career, Riley said.

President Reagan noted the event in a brief letter to Thurmond.

"Even bigger congratulations should go to the people of South Carolina for keeping you in the U.S. Senate for so many years," Reagan wrote.

"You have served your state and your nation with distinction and devotion."

The velvet drape covering the 3-foot-by-4-foot oil painting by Michael Del Priore of Columbia was removed by Thurmond's four children as the packed Senate chamber gave the lawmaker a standing ovation. Another crowd watched on closed circuit television in the House chamber across the lobby.

"I stand before you today, humbled by your tribute and yet deeply grateful for all your generous words of praise," Thurmond said.

"I feel much as I did 54 years ago when, as a young attorney and farmer from Edgefield County, I was first elected to this distinguished body. On that day, I entered this historic chamber, awed by its greatness and majesty and intensely proud of my birthright as a South Carolinian."

"To have my portrait displayed in this revered place is simply a tribute beyond description for my family and for me."

Thurmond served six years as a state senator before moving on to become a circuit judge, governor, presidential candidate of the State Rights Party in 1964 and U.S. senator.

"In every way, Strom Thurmond's personal life personifies South Carolina—independent in thought and deed, fierce in genuine patriotism and sense of duty and devoted to the people and their rich heritage," said Lt. Gov. Mike Daniel, president of the Senate.

The portrait will hang between those of Sen. Rembert Dennis, president pro tem of the state Senate, and the late Sen. Edgar Brown of Barnwell in the southeast corner of the chamber.

"Welcome back to your South Carolina Senate home," said Dennis, D-Berkeley. "You are taking your place on the walls with some of the greatest South Carolinians who have ever served."

Senate Judiciary Chairman Marshall Williams, who double dated with Thurmond when they were young, called the senator "a flower for all seasons. He blooms year-round."

"This is where you really started," Williams said. "You are one of us."

Black Sen. John Matthews, D-Orangeburg, noted Thurmond had championed states' rights, but said the 83-year-old senator eventually forged a new attitude and has served the state with pride and dignity.

Thurmond demonstrated his commitment to all the people of the state by nominating a former political adversary, black lawyer Matthew Perry, to become a federal judge, Matthews said.

"He has redefined the definition of public service," said Sen. John Courson, R-Richland, who proposed the portrait.

Del Priore said Thurmond, his family and the Senate's portrait committee had to approve the painting before it was unveiled.

Thurmond sat for four 90-minute sittings, and Del Priore also worked from photographs to complete the work in 30 to 40 hours, the artist said.



[From the State Paper, Columbia, SC, Apr. 3, 1986]

# RARE TRIBUTE—THURMOND PORTRAIT HUNG IN SC SENATE

(By Jerry Adams)

U.S. Sen. Strom Thurmond claimed another permanent place in South Carolina history Wednesday when his portrait was unveiled in the state Senate, where he began a political career that set new standards for public service.

Thurmond called it a "tribute beyond description" to have his portrait in the chambers where he came 53 years ago, a young lawyer-farmer from Edgefield "awed by its greatness and majesty and intensely proud of my birthright as a South Carolinian."

The portrait hangs between those of Sen. Rembert Dennis, the state Senate president pro tem, and the late Sen. Edgar Brown.

"Welcome back to your South Carolina home and congratulations on taking your place on the walls here with some of the greatest statesmen who ever lived and served," said Dennis.

Thurmond is a former senator, former circuit judge and former governor who now serves as president pro tempore of the U.S. Senate and chairman of the Senate Judicial Committee.

He has served in the Senate since 1954, and his constituent service has been a source of awe for political friends and opponents. He has enjoyed unprecedented bipartisan support as a Democrat-turned-Dixiecrat-turned-Republican in a predominantly Democratic state.

Gov. Dick Riley said Thurmond's "service to the people—no matter how prominent or obscure—has become the hallmark" of his career.

"He has touched many lives . . . but he has never lost touch with the people, has never forgotten his roots, has never put anything before his love and loyalty to this great state," said Riley, who noted he was born in the same month and year that Thurmond started serving in the state Senate.

Thurmond listened for more than an hour to the praise—and occasional ribbing—from an assortment of politicians, many half his age or younger, before joining them in a trademark joke about his longevity.

"They are a generation older than I am," he said. "They've got grandchildren, but I've just got children."

Hundreds of Thurmond's friends and admirers filled House and Senate chambers to listen to tributes and see the oil painting that was unveiled by the senator's wife and four young children.

The portrait, painted by Michael Del Priore, cost \$10,000, but about \$25,000 was spent on the entire project, which included a \$2,300 frame, the reception, solicitations for contributions and invitations to the unveiling.

It was financed with private contributions, according to Thurmond's personal philosophy, said Sen. John Courson, the chief sponsor of the project.

"Not a dime of state money was spent on it," said Courson, R. Richland, a longtime friend of Thurmond, Republican national committeeman and chairman of Thurmond's re-election campaigns.

Courson said the fund-raising effort spanned racial, political and religious boundaries. He cited the help of the late Sen. I. DeQuincy Newman, a Thurmond foe on civil rights and social issues, as an example. Newman was raising money for the

project from his deathbed last year, Courson said.

"This is emblematic of the fact that we have come a long way and people can recognize greatness regardless of political philosophies or political parties," Courson said. "God bless South Carolina and God bless Sen. Thurmond."

Courson also read greetings from President Reagan, who wrote Thurmond last month congratulating him on the upcoming honor.

"You have given your all to preserve the bedrock principles that make America the admiration of the world," Reagan wrote. "And through it all, you've displayed the sense of joy and devotion to duty that we all love in you."

Thurmond was also praised by Lt. Gov. Mike Daniel and by a succession of state senators who served on the portrait committee.

"In every way, Strom Thurmond's personal life personifies South Carolina—independent in thought and deed, fierce in genuine patriotism and sense of duty and devoted to the people and their rich heritage," Daniel said.

Sen. Marshall Williams, D-Orangeburg, called Thurmond a "flower for all seasons. You bloom all year round."

Williams said he and Thurmond used to double-date many years ago, when Thurmond was a judge and Williams was a young attorney. Williams noted that Thurmond always made him drive because "he needed both hands to gesture."

Williams, who has been in the state Senate since 1953, also said Thurmond had waved the banner of four political parties.

"He was a Democrat, a Dixiecrat, a write-in candidate and a Republican, and he was a good one every time he made a move," Williams said. "He was brave enough to lead the charge."

"You are one of us," he told Thurmond. "This is where you really started. We love you."

Sen. John Matthews, D-Orangeburg, a black legislator, said Thurmond has served with pride and dignity and had changed through the years.

"It was Sen. Strom Thurmond who developed a new attitude and had growth and foresight and fostered many positive changes that affected all the citizens of this state," he said.

"He has demonstrated his commitment to all the people of this state," Matthews said, citing Thurmond's nomination of Matthew Perry, a former adversary, to a federal judgeship. Thurmond, Matthews said, "has served his people well."

STATE OF SOUTH CAROLINA, THE SENATE UNVEILING OF PORTRAIT HONORING SENATOR STROM THURMOND, PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE, U.S. SENATE, WEDNESDAY, THE SECOND OF APRIL, NINETEEN HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-SIX AT THREE O'CLOCK, STATE HOUSE

## THE THURMOND PORTRAIT COMMITTEE— MEMBERS OF THE SENATE

The Honorable John Edward Courson, chairman; The Honorable Marshall Burns Williams, The Honorable James Madison Waddell, Jr., The Honorable John Drummond, The Honorable Thomas Lucius Moore, The Honorable John Wesley Matthews, Jr.

Finance Committee: The Honorable Joseph Fletcher Anderson, Jr., Paula H. Bethea, Bachman S. Smith, III, Esq., The Honorable David Horton Wilkins, The Honorable John Edward Courson.

Selection Committee: The Honorable James Madison Waddell, Jr., The Honorable John Drummond, The Honorable John Edward Courson, Paula H. Bethea, Bristow Marchant, Esq., Dr. John J. O'Neil.

Presiding: the Honorable Michael Roland Daniel, Lt. Governor of South Carolina.

Invocation: the Reverend Doctor George Elias Meetze, Chaplain of the Senate.

"National Anthem": led By Doctor Richard Conant.

Recognition of Artist, Michael Del Priore: the Honorable James Madison Waddell, Jr.

Recognition of Thurmond Portrait Committees and Introduction of Family: the Honorable John Edward Courson.

Presentation of Portrait of Senator Thurmond: the Honorable Rembert Coney Dennis.

Unveiling of Portrait: Nancy Moore Thurmond, James Strom Thurmond, II, Juliana Gertrude Thurmond, Paul Reynolds Thurmond.

Acceptance on Behalf of the State of South Carolina: the Honorable Richard Wilson Riley, Governor of South Carolina.

Remarks: The Honorable Marshall Burns Williams, The Honorable James Madison Waddell, Jr., The Honorable John Drummond, The Honorable Thomas Lucius Moore, The Honorable John Wesley Matthews, Jr., The Honorable John Edward Courson.

Response: Senator Strom Thurmond. "God Bless America": led by Doctor Richard Conant.

Benediction: the Reverend Michael L. Glenn.

## SENATOR STROM THURMOND

1902, Born December 5 at Edgefield, S.C. (Present home, Aiken, S.C.).

1923, B.S. degree from Clemson University (also holds over 20 honorary degrees).

1923-29, Teacher and Athletic Coach; McCormick, Ridge Spring and Edgefield, S.C.

1924, 2nd Lt., U.S. Army Reserve; commissioned upon becoming 21 years old.

1929-33, Superintendent of Education, Edgefield County, S.C.

1930, admitted to S.C. Bar (studied law under father, Judge J. William Thurmond).

1930-38, Attorney at Law, Edgefield, S.C. (City and County Attorney).

1933-38, State Senator, representing Edgefield County, S.C.

1938-46, Circuit Judge of South Carolina (four year leave of absence for World War II service).

1942-46, World War II; First U.S. Army—American, European and Pacific Theaters, Landed in Normandy on D-Day with 82nd Airborne Division, awarded 5 Battle Stars, Earned 18 decorations, medals and awards, including the Legion of Merit with Oak Leaf Cluster, Purple Heart, Bronze Star for Valor, Belgian Order of the Crown, and French Croix de Guerre.

1947-51, Governor of South Carolina.

1948, Candidate for President of the U.S., carried 4 States and received 39 electoral votes as States Rights Democratic candidate (third largest independent electoral vote in U.S. history).

1951-55, Attorney at Law, Aiken, S.C. (City Attorney of North Augusta, S.C.).

1955-Present, U.S. Senator; elected as write-in candidate; first person ever elected to major office in U.S. by this method; appointed Dec. 24, 1954 to complete term of Senator Charles E. Daniel, who resigned. Served until April 4, 1956, when resigned to place office in a primary, pursuant to a

promise made to the people during the 1954 campaign. Re-elected U.S. Senator and resumed duties November 7, 1956; re-elected 1960, 1966, 1972, 1978 and 1984.

President Pro Tempore, U.S. Senate, 1981.  
Chairman, Senate Judiciary Committee, 1981 (member since 1967).

Ranking Majority Member, Armed Services Committee, (member since 1959).

Senior Majority Member, Veterans Affairs Committee, (member since 1971).

Member, Labor and Human Resources Committee, (since 1984).

1959, Major General, U.S. Army Reserve; served 36 years in Reserve and on Active duty. (Past National President, Reserve Officers Association, 1954-55)

1964, Switched from Democratic to Republican Party (delegate to 6 Democratic and 5 Republican National Conventions)

1968, Married Nancy Moore of Aiken, S.C. Four children: Nancy Moore, J. Strom II, Juliana Gertrude and Paul Reynolds

1983, President's Commission on Organized Crime (appointed by President Reagan)

1985, Commission on the Bicentennial of the U.S. Constitution (as President Pro Tempore, U.S.S.)

Member: Baptist Church, American and South Carolina Bar Associations, Lions Club (50 years), and numerous defense, veterans, civic, fraternal and farming organizations.

#### FACILITIES NAMED FOR SENATOR THURMOND:

Thurmond Hall, Winthrop College, Rock Hills, S.C., 1939

Strom Thurmond High School, Edgefield County, S.C., 1961

Strom Thurmond Student Center, Baptist College, Charleston, S.C., 1972

Strom Thurmond Federal Building, Columbia, S.C., 1975

Strom Thurmond Center for Excellence in Government and Public Service, Clemson University, 1981

Strom Thurmond Auditorium at the University of South Carolina School of Law, 1982

Life-sized statue on the Town Square, Edgefield, S.C., 1984 erected by people of Edgefield County

#### SELECTED AWARDS

Clemson University: Alumni Distinguished Service (1961), Medallion (1981), and Athletic Hall of Fame (1983)

WIS "South Carolinian of Year" (1968)

33<sup>rd</sup> Mason (1969)

National Patriot's Award by Congressional Medal of Honor Society (1974)

South Carolina Trial Lawyers Association Service Award (1980)

American Judges Distinguished Service Award (1981)

South Carolina Hall of Fame (1982)

Textile Man of Year (1984)

Napoleon Hill Gold Medal Humanitarian Achievement Award (1985)

Major awards from American Legion, VFW, DAV, AMVETS, National Guard, Army and Navy associations, farm and education groups, and foreign countries.

#### A TRIBUTE TO DR. VINCENT LECCESE

#### HON. NORMAN F. LENT

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, April 8, 1986*

Mr. LENT. Mr. Speaker, it is my distinct pleasure at this time to recognize an individual

who has made a significant contribution to excellence in the field of education. This individual is Dr. Vincent Leccese, superintendent of schools in Oceanside, NY. After 30 years of distinguished and dedicated service to the schools, the students and the community, Dr. Leccese will be retiring from the Oceanside School District. On May 8, Dr. Leccese's family, friends, and colleagues will hold a testimonial dinner in his honor. In recognition of this memorable occasion, I'd like to take this opportunity to recognize Dr. Leccese's many outstanding accomplishments and his valuable contributions to education and the Oceanside community.

Dr. Leccese began his professional career in 1956 as a guidance counselor with the school district. Since that time he has served in many capacities, as director of pupil personnel, principal of the Boardman Junior High School, coordinator of secondary education, and as assistant superintendent, before assuming the position as superintendent of Oceanside schools. In his various positions, he has been responsible for nearly every facet of management, including curriculum, personnel, budget development, and administration.

Dr. Leccese has been an effective leader in the field of education who is well-respected by his colleagues. This past summer, I met with Dr. Leccese and representatives of the Oceanside PTA Council and Board of Education to discuss the impact of tax reform on our local schools and education. I was presented with petitions signed by over 7,500 Oceanside residents protesting an end to the State and local tax deduction so important to New York taxpayers. This deduction is critically important to preserving the high standard of education in Long Island's public schools. Their help was essential in winning the fight in the House to retain this important deduction, and I am grateful for their support.

Admired by many for his dedication to meeting the educational needs of our young people, Dr. Leccese has worked hard so that our children could have the best possible education. His guidance and sound judgment have been a source of inspiration for many, and he will be sorely missed.

I'd like to extend my deepest appreciation to Dr. Leccese for his 30 years of dedicated service and valuable contributions to education and to the Oceanside community, and I wish him much health and happiness in the years ahead.

HERBERT GODDARD AND  
DONALD PELLEGRINO 1986 AR-  
CADIA CITIZEN OF THE YEAR  
AWARD

#### HON. CARLOS J. MOORHEAD

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, April 8, 1986*

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues in the House of Representatives the selection of Mr. Herbert H. Goddard and Mayor Donald Pellegrino as recipients of the "1986 Arcadia Citizen of the Year Award". On March 28, Messrs. Goddard and Pellegrino were officially

bestowed the award at the 72nd Annual Installation Dinner of the Arcadia Chamber of Commerce which was held on the Queen Mary in Long Beach, CA.

In Arcadia, the name of Herbert H. Goddard is synonymous with dedication and hard work, with efficiency, success and achievement. His contributions are many, including extensive involvement in the PTA, the boy scouts, youth sports, the Chamber of Commerce, business and community work.

He has been director and president of the Arcadia Chamber of Commerce, director of the West Arcadia Merchant's Association and a 10-year officer and director of the Arcadia Board of Realtors. Don is a member of the Masonic Temple, the Arcadia High Twelve Club and the Shriners. He was a prime mover in the city's drive to establish a museum for the historical society.

Don Pellegrino, who will be ending a term as mayor of Arcadia on April 15 along with an 8-year span on the city council, is recognized as an active, involved community leader. As a resident of Arcadia, Don has been a member of the Optimist Club, HOY [Help Our Youth], Arcadia Downtown Businessman's Association, March of Dimes, Kiwanis, Chamber of Commerce, and the American Red Cross.

Mayor Pellegrino was instrumental in establishing the Red Cross Chapter Building. Because of his dedication and hard work, Arcadians now receive the services of Meals-On-Wheels, the Blood Bank, disaster preparedness programs, and in association with Arcadia Methodists Hospital, a 24-hour emergency service facility. As a major facilitator of this project, Don demonstrated a talent for bringing together the people of the community so a dream could become a reality.

Mr. Speaker, I am delighted to take this moment to pay tribute to two fine citizens. Arcadia is a better place to live because of the efforts, the vigor, and the altruism of Herb Goddard and Don Pellegrino. On behalf of my constituents in the city of Arcadia, I extend my thanks for their untiring devotion to the people of the community and congratulate them on being named recipients of a grand and distinguished honor.

#### THE 125TH ANNIVERSARY OF ARMED SERVICES YMCA

#### HON. LES ASPIN

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, April 8, 1986*

Mr. ASPIN. Mr. Speaker, I am honored to be a member of the Armed Services YMCA's Anniversary Committee; which is headed by General Dynamics chairman and CEO Stanley Pace as chairman and GEICO chairman and CEO William B. Snyder as vice-chairman. This year marks the 125th anniversary of service by the Armed Services YMCA to our military community. In celebration of this event and to attract attention to our military community, a dinner honoring the President, as Commander in Chief, the Joint Chiefs of Staff and other key Armed Forces leaders will be held by the ASYMCA on April 22. April was chosen for this initial celebration because National Volun-



teer Week falls in that month and it is the anniversary of the commencement of the Civil War, when YMCA volunteers first began their service to the military.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to take a moment to inform my colleagues in the House of the history of this outstanding organization and the types of services it provides to our military community.

One week after the outbreak of the Civil War, a group of YMCA members voluntarily sought to provide helpful services to men in uniform. The volunteers aided and comforted soldiers in nearby encampments and later followed them to the battlefields.

On November 15, 1861, representatives from 15 YMCA's formed the U.S. Christian Commission. The Commission was created to coordinate overall YMCA efforts to alleviate the suffering of thousands of sick and wounded. The Commission's initial purpose of providing spiritual and physical comfort to soldiers on both sides of the war was commended and encouraged by President Lincoln.

During the Civil War, the ASYMCA established a War Prisoners Aid Program which was later undertaken on more massive scales during World Wars I and II. This prisoner-of-war work involved the distribution of books, magazine, cases of food, clothing, and medical supplies to soldiers in enemy camps throughout the Civil, First and Second World Wars. General Pershing stated that during World War I the YMCA conducted nine-tenths of the welfare work among American Forces in Europe. In the Second World War, similar programs cost the YMCA \$15,000,000 and involved POW camps in 33 countries, with supplies sent to 20 other countries which precluded personal visits by YMCA War Prisoners Aid staff. The Armed Services YMCA continued these types of programs to the military through the Korean war, the Vietnam conflict, and into the mid-1970's.

At this time the establishment of an All-Volunteer Armed Forces brought new demands to organizations serving young military people. In addition to the change in recreational patterns of young people, the number of young military families was increasing. The changing lifestyles of single personnel and the shifting patterns of military family needs in the eighties has resulted in a change of emphasis and style in the programs and activities that are provided by the Armed Services YMCA. One of the major trends of YMCA work with the military has been the increasing number of outreach programs provided for these young citizens in uniform.

The expanding network of branches and outreach units of the Armed Services YMCA will mean that an increasing number of our young service men and women will be helped in the months and years ahead. Some of those people will be married, some will be single. Most of them will be young. A few will need a great deal of help. Most will need only a friendly, home-like place where they can sort things out as they begin their new lives.

The Armed Services YMCA is committed to helping young military people by augmenting the people-oriented programs conducted by the Armed Forces themselves. Among the programs initiated by the Armed Services YMCA is the distribution of a newsletter called

"Military Family Life." This newsletter currently goes out to some 45,000 military families across the Nation and overseas. Another important activity of the ASYMCA was the successful completion of a special project involved in family violence and child abuse and neglect issues as they relate to the military.

The Military Family Resource Center [MFRC], created and operated by the Armed Services YMCA for more than 4 years, develops resources and research materials, promotes interdisciplinary cooperation, and enhances an understanding of family advocacy issues as related to the military. The center was found to be so valuable that the Department of Defense formally institutionalized the center within the Office of the Secretary of Defense.

Activities and programs setup by the Armed Services YMCA serve as a bridge between local communities and military installations in areas where they are operated. They provide channels through which local citizens can offer help to the young service men and women stationed in their communities.

The Armed Services YMCA has provided invaluable service to our military community for 125 years. The main focus of this organization is enriching the quality of life for military people and their families. The Armed Services YMCA understands the importance of healthy, wholesome families and lifestyles, not only to the individuals in the Armed Forces, but also to the Defense Establishment itself.

Please join me in supporting the Armed Services YMCA, both in your own States as well as here in Washington on April 22.

#### LET US NOT FORGET

**HON. THOMAS J. DOWNEY**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, April 8, 1986*

Mr. DOWNEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, Government regulation; given the current rhetorical climate, you might think these are two of the most obscene words in the English language. But don't tell my constituent, "Triangle Fire" survivor Pauline Pepe, that; 75 years ago she saw 146 of her fellow garment workers die in a crowded ninth story sweatshop that had locked exits and crumbling fire escapes.

This is an unpleasant anniversary to contemplate. Try, if you can, to picture the scene: Hundreds of women literally trapped in a burning inferno, impossible to rescue due to ladders that only reached to the sixth floor of the nine story edifice. Many jumped to their death, unable to stand the smoke that poured from the windows. Others were asphyxiated. The lucky, like Pauline Pepe, escaped.

What is the moral of this sad story? Well, there are many. But let us consider what resulted. Due to the outrage over this tragedy, reforms in occupational-safety laws and fire codes were instituted. Future Triangle shirt-waist fires were avoided. That is one good

thing that came out of the human pain and suffering endured by so many who were unfortunate participants in this horror.

Quite rightly, the labor and the wounds of those who died and were injured in the Triangle shirtwaist fire were not in vain. Things have changed for the better. No longer do our garment and industrial workers labor in survival of the fittest factories.

But there are always those among us who would prefer to forget the past and move toward a completely deregulated workplace. Well, there is a word for a completed deregulated workplace. That word is "sweatshop" and it is not a proud part of our history. Let us make sure that today's deregulators do not deregulate us back to the stone age.

#### HARVEST OF DESPAIR FILM

**HON. WILLIAM O. LIPINSKI**

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, April 8, 1986*

Mr. LIPINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I want to bring to the attention of my colleagues the internationally acclaimed Canadian documentary "Harvest of Despair."

For those not fully aware of the facts of the Soviet-induced Ukrainian Famine of 1932-33, the film provides rare footage and insights into the systematic starvation of upward of 7 million people. Coming at a time when the congressionally-mandated Commission on the Ukrainian Famine is about to begin its official factfinding work, Harvest of Despair will provide the necessary visual backdrop to the oral recollections and research into that dark period.

As in those all-too-frequent modern instances where historic facts have been subordinated to murky foreign policy objectives, Harvest of Despair has not enjoyed the wide opportunities for viewing so befitting a film of its stature. Foreign policy objectives aside, we can never allow past facts to be sacrificed to current political expediencies. If Harvest of Despair gives the Soviets cause to squirm, so be it. When we are dealing with historic facts, we need not extend equal time to those who have committed genocide and would now like a coverup.

Today, more than ever, we need for our broadcasters to take note of Harvest of Despair and to plan its showing as soon as possible. Americans should be able to judge for themselves the merit of this important work. We do not need to have the networks make this judgment for us.

Today, I call on my colleagues to bring this important work to the attention of their constituencies so that they can directly petition broadcasters to air the film. Until we have all seen this work and judged for ourselves, the true story of the Ukrainian Famine will be obscured.

NOTICE OF HEARINGS

**HON. THOMAS J. BLILEY, JR.**

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, April 8, 1986*

Mr. BLILEY. Mr. Speaker, I would like to announce for the information of the House of Representatives and the public that the Congressional Coalition on Adoption is holding its first public hearing at 2 p.m. on Thursday, April 17, 1986, in room 485 of the Russell Senate Office Building. Witnesses at the hearing will address one of three issues: First, adoption benefits; second, adoption counseling; and third, health care for special needs adoptions. For further information about the hearing, or to receive a detailed witness list as it becomes available, please call Maggie Wynne on my staff at (202) 255-2815 or Emily Cooke on Senator HUMPHREY's staff at (202) 224-2841.

TRIBUTE TO VENETIAN  
WOMEN'S CLUB

**HON. DENNIS M. HERTEL**

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, April 8, 1986*

Mr. HERTEL of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, ours is a nation built upon the hopes, aspirations, and sacrifices of men and women who have come to America in search of a more rewarding and humane existence. Their new surroundings, coupled with language and customs barriers, often many of them experienced frustrations and loneliness and a nostalgic longing for their old country.

In an effort to facilitate adjustment and assimilation into American culture, many subcultures banded together. One such group, founded 50 years ago on April 13 is the Venetian Women's Club of Mutual Benefit. It started with 30 women born in Venice, Italy, residing in Detroit, MI, dedicated to promoting a feeling of unity among its members and their families, were able to ease the transition into American society without sacrificing their cultural traditions.

Since its inception, the Venetian Women's Club has been active in civic and community projects, ethnic projects that gave visibility to their programs and their outreach activities. They have extended their activities among the poor, the elderly, and the disadvantaged and most recently have become involved in assisting battered women and children.

On April 13, 1986, the Venetian Women's Club will be celebrating its 50th anniversary at a banquet at which time they will reflect with pride on their many achievements in their humanitarian efforts in the Detroit area. In addition to assisting needy and distressed immigrants, these dedicated women have enhanced the quality of life through their generosity and constant concern for those who desperately needed counseling and guidance.

I feel this statement is a significant way to express my own congratulations to a group of community-minded individuals who deserve to be recognized nationally as a model of compassion, dedication, and concern. They set an example of the positive relationship that can be fostered by promoting a better understanding of peoples of varying backgrounds.

I salute them for their many innovative programs and achievements and congratulate them for 50 years of dedicated service.

CONGRESSIONAL SALUTE TO  
THE SALVATION ARMY

**HON. ROBERT T. MATSUI**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, April 8, 1986*

Mr. MATSUI. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues in the U.S. House of Representatives a very special time in the life of a tremendously valuable and important Christian service organization in Sacramento. On April 3, 1986, the Sacramento Citadel Salvation Army will celebrate its 101st anniversary of dedicated, sacrificial service to those people in our community who have unmet spiritual and social needs.

Under the able leadership of Capt. Hal Smith, his staff, a literal army of volunteers and a very active advisory board, the Salvation Army has established an excellent reputation of working to help meet important needs in our diverse, growing community. The Salvation Army does this through a wide variety of programs designed to assist those in our society who are less fortunate or who have fallen through the social safety net or through the cracks of other governmental assistance programs.

In many ways, this organization mirrors the very best attributes of our country: friendship, caring, and material assistance in times of true need. One needs only look at the people who are receiving this critical helping hand to see how successful this grassroots organization is: the elderly, the unemployed, the handicapped. Perhaps the most impressive aspect of the Salvation Army is that is always involved in helping meet basic needs like food, shelter, and clothing no matter the color or creed of a person.

As our community continues to grow and expand, the Salvation Army will play an ever more important role in developing and operating programs to help reinforce positive social and spiritual values in our young people and provide assistance to the basic family unit.

On behalf of the people of Sacramento, I would like to thank the men and women of Salvation Army who have committed their lives to helping others who are less fortunate and to commend them for their selfless devotion to this unheard of but so meaningful task.

KILDEE INTRODUCES NATIONAL  
COMMUNITY EDUCATION DAY

**HON. DALE E. KILDEE**

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, April 8, 1986*

Mr. KILDEE. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing a measure to designate November 18, 1986, as National Community Education Day.

Beginning in Flint, MI, in 1935, community education has become a significant force to help people find the best ways to use their resources to respond to their own needs and those of their neighborhoods. Flint has served as an example for other communities, showing how effectively community education works to promote interagency cooperation and community involvement. Success in Flint have led to the adoption of community education programs in an estimated 3,500 school districts in this country and around the world.

Within the last 4 years, 39 Governors have proclaimed Community Education Days in their States. These State observances have served as occasions to recognize and support strong relationships between public schools and the communities they serve. They have provided community schools and community colleges opportunities to showcase collaborative programs and projects and to develop new community partnerships in support of public education. Past State Community Education Day events have included school open houses, exhibits and demonstrations at regional shopping malls, school-community-business luncheons, interagency workshops and meetings, poster and essay contests, and school-community awards programs.

I encourage my colleagues to join in this effort to recognize and commemorate community education.

WEST POINT HONORS THE  
MEMORY OF GENERAL  
EDWARD GILLETTE, JR.

**HON. BILL GREEN**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, April 8, 1986*

Mr. GREEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask my colleagues to join in paying tribute to the memory of Brig. Gen. Edward C. Gillette, Jr. (retired) who died on March 14 at the age of 85. General Gillette retired from active duty in 1964 after 44 years of service. He spent the last 18 years of his Army career at the U.S. Military Academy at West Point where he was head of the physics and chemistry department.

General Gillette had a distinguished military career. Before World War II his assignments included tours at Army headquarters in Washington and at West Point where he was an instructor. He served with the Signal Corps personnel during the war.

After World War II, General Gillette was chief signal officer at the Potsdam conference, held in Soviet occupied Germany, where he helped develop a pioneering VHF radio line-of-sight system that kept the Ameri-



cans in contact with U.S. Army headquarters in West Germany. The Soviets had refused to allow the Americans to use secure-land lines. General Gillette also participated in the 1946 atomic bomb tests.

His military decorations included the Distinguished Service Medal, two Legions of Merit, and the Bronze Star Cross.

Memorial Services for General Gillette were conducted by our own House of Representatives Chaplain, Dr. James Ford who had served with the general at West Point.

I thank my colleagues for taking time to honor the memory of this outstanding American.

#### SUPPORT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

##### HON. BARBARA A. MIKULSKI

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, April 8, 1986*

Ms. MIKULSKI. Mr. Speaker, I rise to address two areas in which the United States now lags behind many other Western nations—human rights and international trade.

Last Friday in South Africa thousands of blacks rallied to honor countrymen slain at Sharpesville and Uitenhagen. In the past 19 months, nearly 1,200 people have died in protests, two-thirds of them at the hands of the government and local police. Their sacrifice stands as a monument to black resistance to the evil of apartheid.

Now, the testimony of a courageous South African doctor, and 134 sworn statements taken in a lawsuit she has brought against the government, confirm what we have suspected all along: anti-apartheid activists, imprisoned and detained, are being beaten and tortured by the South African police.

Apartheid enslaves South Africans. And its consequences undermine our own economic security and prosperity. The competitive trade advantage enjoyed by authoritarian regimes is a direct result of repression. Workers are not paid a living wage. They are denied the right to organize against political and economic exploitation.

The availability of cheap apartheid labor leads American corporations to export jobs rather than invest in jobs here at home. Exports from South Africa then unfairly undercut American goods in the world market.

We can't compete against slave labor with give-backs and give-ups. We spend too much time blaming American workers and too little time blaming repressive regimes. The answer to cheap South African coal flooding world markets is not for American coal miners to give up their pensions, but for South Africa to give up apartheid.

The issue isn't coal. The issue isn't American productivity. The issue is apartheid.

American citizens are doubly penalized by this administration's human rights and trade policies. First, the decently paid jobs that once formed the backbone of our economy are being lost. Second, our trade policy, by turning a blind eye to human rights violations, leaves America too often identified with regimes whose policies contradict American values, traditions and morality.

#### CONTINENTAL SCIENTIFIC DRILLING AND EXPLORATION ACT OF 1986

##### HON. CLAUDINE SCHNEIDER

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, April 8, 1986*

Mrs. SCHNEIDER. Mr. Speaker, I am extremely pleased today to introduce the Continental Scientific Drilling and Exploration Act of 1986. This legislation, together with S. 1026 now before the Senate, represent the first step toward formally implementing one of the most exciting programs in the Earth sciences of the last 20 years. The objective of scientific drilling on continents is simple—to study the Earth in the third dimension, to explore a domain never before sampled, and to understand processes which are at the very roots of the evolution of our planet, and ultimately, are the keys to the survival of its children.

The Earth is a living planet, breathing and pulsing with volcanic fire, shuddering with earthquakes, and nurturing its children on its water, mineral, and energy resources. Quite simply, this program is aimed at studying the fundamental way in which the Earth works and how humanity can best adapt to living on this sometimes bountiful, sometimes cantankerous, giant.

Mr. Speaker, the Continental Scientific Drilling Program joint resolution which was signed into law by President Reagan on October 12, 1984, has been of inestimable help in drawing together the interests of university scientists, industry and government agencies over the last year. The bill described here serves to set guidelines for implementing such a program. This research activity represents a unique opportunity for scientists and engineers from universities, government agencies and industry to work together to explore one of the most important frontiers of man's knowledge—the Earth's interior. This is not esoteric, ivory-tower science favoring one or a handful of universities, but rather research of enormous societal benefit, from identifying new sources of energy and minerals to mitigating the effects of natural catastrophes. Unfortunately the earthquake last year in Mexico City and the volcanic eruption in Columbia underscore the importance of understanding and being able to predict these phenomena. Equally as unfortunate is that both of these phenomena are analogs of catastrophes waiting to happen within the coterminous United States. On the positive side is that problems such as these are precisely the kind of issues that the Continental Scientific Drilling Program proposes to study in order to predict and minimize the negative impacts.

Whereas natural catastrophes capture the headlines with loss of thousands, even hundreds of thousands of lives, we must recognize that literally millions of people are affected by the supply of energy resources, minerals and fresh water supplies. Paradoxically, the Earth is the receptor of our chemical, nuclear, and domestic waste at the same time that it is the provider of the resources we consume. How do all of these activities affect the natural systems we know so little about? How

can we best utilize the Earth today, and yet maintain its integrity for future generations?

All of these questions lie at the heart of the multi-agency, multi-institutional research program to be implemented by the Continental Scientific Drilling and Exploration Act of 1986. I urge you to support this new legislation as one of the most innovative and most widely endorsed programs to be embarked upon in the Earth Sciences for the last two decades. The thrust of the legislation is largely explained in the text of the bill itself. I highly commend it to my colleagues' attention and ask unanimous consent that a copy of the bill be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### A TRIBUTE TO PEGGY DOSSER BENSON

##### HON. GEORGE (BUDDY) DARDEN

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, April 8, 1986*

Mr. DARDEN. Mr. Speaker, the arts community of Marietta and Cobb County, GA, has benefitted for more than 40 years from the generous and unselfish contributions of Peggy Dosser Benson. Soon she will be honored, appropriately, by the naming in her honor of a performance stage in Marietta's Glover Park.

This facility, in the restored park which is at the heart of downtown Marietta, will become a showcase for the performing arts which Peggy Benson has done so much to nurture and promote. It is a fitting monument to her tireless efforts on behalf of music, theater, and dance.

Mrs. Benson has lived in Marietta since childhood and is best known for founding the Cobb Arts Council. She was instrumental in the opening of the cultural arts theater in the Cobb Civic Center complex.

Her performance credits include singing with the Atlanta Civic Opera, Atlanta Choral Guild, the Marietta Madrigal Singers, and the Marietta First United Methodist Church choir.

A graduate of the voice and drama program at Sullins College in Bristol, VA, Mrs. Benson also earned a degree in Christian education from Asbury College in Wilmore, KY. She was a public school music teacher in Marietta and, later, director of Christian education at Marietta First United Methodist Church.

Her community service spans not only the arts and church activities, but also medicine, education, human services and civil and garden clubs. She has served on the boards of directors of Marietta-Cobb Fine Arts Center, Kaleidoscope, Cobb-Marietta Ballet, Marietta Community Symphony trustees, Marietta Music Club, Marietta Little Theater, Georgia Citizens for the Arts, Greater Atlanta Arts Council, Atlanta String Academy, and the Atlanta Symphony Guild.

Mr. Speaker, I invite my colleagues to join me in saluting Peggy Dosser Benson for the devotion of much of her life to broadening public appreciation of the arts, and for her priceless contributions to the cultural life of her community.

A FEDERAL TAX AMNESTY?

HON. WILLIS D. GRADISON, JR.

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 8, 1986

Mr. GRADISON. Mr. Speaker, the desperate search for ways to reduce the budget deficit has revived the idea of a Federal tax amnesty.

Last year, the Federal Government lost \$100 billion in revenues due to underreported and unpaid taxes. A Federal tax amnesty, promising a surge of revenues without a tax increase, is obviously very appealing. A number of States have offered tax amnesties in recent years with apparent success. In Massachusetts, for example, a 1983 tax amnesty which was expected to collect \$20 million actually picked up three times that amount.

Success in a few States, however, does not necessarily translate into comparable results for the Federal system. Amnesties have been most productive in States with slack tax collection programs. Federal enforcement, on the other hand, is relatively tight. The people who know most about tax collection, such as IRS Commissioner Roscoe L. Egger, Jr., question claims that forgiving tax cheaters could bring in \$10 to \$25 billion in a one-time coup for the Treasury.

A Federal tax amnesty would also set a bad precedent, as well as violate a sense of equity. Those who cheat, expecting future amnesties, would have no incentive to change their practices. Honest taxpayers, on the other hand, would correctly perceive an amnesty as special treatment for dishonest taxpayers and an erosion of the policy of administering tax laws uniformly. A Federal tax amnesty would also contradict our system of voluntary compliance.

A better way to raise the revenues would be to provide additional resources with which to go after uncollected taxes. Though not a popular subject, the fact is that the IRS has been underfinanced for years. This austerity has reduced the number of Federal tax audits to little more than 1 percent of the returns, compared with 5 percent 20 years ago.

At the margin, the IRS collects taxes quite efficiently. For every dollar spent on matching information documents, the IRS collects \$20; for every dollar spent on audits, the IRS collects \$10; for every dollar spent on collections, the IRS gains \$6.

Furthermore, one-time revenue pickups do not address the fundamental problem of structural deficits. Even a big revenue pickup from a Federal tax amnesty would only see the deficit return to preamnesty levels. In fact, a tax amnesty could even result in a larger deficit by encouraging taxpayers to cheat in the expectation that there would be future amnesties.

Congress should resist the temptation to try a dubious, one-shot revenue gainer and instead face up to the task of real deficit reduction.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

MARTIN LUTHER KING ESSAY CONTEST

HON. MAJOR R. OWENS

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 8, 1986

Mr. OWENS. Mr. Speaker, despite the fact that the Peace Academy which Congress authorized has not come to fruition, every effort must be made to promote peace. On January 20, 1986, at the first celebration of the birthday of Martin Luther King the 12th Congressional District awarded prizes to students who participated in an essay contest on peace. More than 400 students submitted essays. The following are the winners in the junior high school and high school essay contests.

IF I LIVED IN A PEACEFUL WORLD—A MARTIN LUTHER KING DREAM

(By Gail Fraser, Summit SP Junior High School, District 13)

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. was a man with a very hopeful and promising dream. He dreamed of a world where hate, prejudice and social injustice hardly existed. He dreamed of a peaceful world.

I, too, like Martin Luther King, have a dream of a world filled with peace. It's a world complete with social justice, love and equality, a world surrounded with happiness and joy. I dream of a place where all people are bound together, united and free, and are not segregated for any reason. I dream of a place that surmounts the harshness and cruelty of mankind. I wish for a world that is like a dove in the sky.

To visualize this peaceful world is to have a vision of Dr. King's dreams and teachings. He told us to love each other, fight for what we thought was right without the use of violence, and, most of all, to be proud of ourselves. We have to work together, live together and strive together to achieve that one common goal! He preached love and kindness with such eloquent words that it touched the hearts of many.

The man is gone today and people everywhere were robbed of someone very special. Nevertheless, his ideas, deeds and his exceptional dream of peace will never be forgotten!

IF I LIVED IN A PEACEFUL WORLD—DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING DREAM

(By Suzanne Holmes, Intermediate School 391, District 17)

If I lived in a peaceful world, I would wake up every morning and not hear that seven people were killed with handguns; that terrorists had killed little children and adults at an airport waiting to come home; that individuals had thrown a smoke bomb in a crowded disco room and then held the door causing eighteen to twenty people to be overcome by smoke. If I lived in a peaceful world, I wouldn't hear that a doctor who hadn't even performed surgery on a patient would be killed in his own office inside a hospital; that a newborn baby could be left in a plastic bag inside a hallway or that thieves had robbed a church's poor box at Christmas time.

If I lived in a peaceful world, I would expect to see evidence of the love Jesus taught us to have for one another. Neighbor helping neighbor: man helping those who are a little less fortunate than they are: families that are together eating, playing and praying and not torn apart by strife,

greed, jealousy or divorce. I would expect to see children going to school and playing with each other and not be concerned if one's black or not, that all would have an equal chance to higher education regardless of one's financial status.

If I lived in a peaceful world, I would see one country reaching a helping hand to help another one that has suffered a disaster; I would not expect to hear of arms building up and talk of nuclear attack or star wars.

If I lived in a peaceful world, I would expect my troubles to be minor and that 99 44/100 percent of my days to be happy peaceful ones.

IF I LIVED IN A PEACEFUL WORLD—DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING DREAM

(By Raquel Baker, Intermediate School 390, District 17)

If I lived in a peaceful world my life would be entirely different from the one I'm living now. I would have more friends of all races, and I would be able to go anywhere I want to without fear. I would not worry about getting mugged or killed. There would not be so much fighting and violence among the people. More people would be treated with more respect. There would be less crime and the world would be a better place to live in.

More kids would be eager to get an education instead of using drugs. Neighborhoods would be safer. There would be no war among countries and people would be free to move from one country to another without restrictions. Doors and windows would not have to be locked at all times. There would be less people in prison. There would be less of a need for armed forces and nuclear arms, and so the people would pay less taxes. We would be healthier because there would be less pollution and cleaner surroundings.

If I lived in a peaceful world, life would be beautiful. All people would be my brothers and sisters.

IF I LIVED IN A WORLD OF PEACE—A DR. MARTIN L. KING JR. DREAM

(By Ashton Cudjoe, Intermediate School 390, District 17)

If I lived in a world of peace, violence would be unknown. It would be very nice in such a world. Wars would never exist and no one would be thinking of nuclear weapons. There would be no simple accident which can cause the world to be destroyed.

Dr. Martin L. King, Jr. said "I have a dream that my four children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character." If we lived in such a nation you would see black and white children playing together and holding hands. This would prove that people are created equally, and that we should all care for each other.

Many people are still prejudiced today, but we must all in some way try to overcome this. It is said "We are not born prejudiced, we are taught to be prejudiced." If people no longer taught their children to be prejudiced, we might just be able to create this world of peace.

If I lived in a world of peace, I would even try to make things better. This can never be a perfect world. If we try to change the things that are wrong, we can try to make the world as close to perfect as we can.



## PROLOGUE

(By Kim Cherry, Bishop Loughlin Memorial H.S., District 13)

On January 15, 1929, a child was born, born into a destiny that could not be avoided, that of being black in a white society. As this child became a man, he fought for racial equality with a force never used before. He wanted someday "for the sons of former slaves and the sons of former slave owners to be able to sit together at the table of brotherhood."

If only Dr. King were alive today to see what great things he has done. None of it would have been possible without this.

In the 1950's and 1960's, the goal of a great man known throughout the world today as Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. was to achieve a status of racial equality throughout this great nation. Dr. King went about reaching this goal in a manner rarely thought of today. He did it in a respectable manner, through non-violent retaliation and peace. His philosophy was this, "If I react to your evil with hate, you will respond with more evil. But if instead I meet your evil act with love, you will be inspired to abandon your evil ways. Brotherly love stops evil in its tracks." It was upon these words of the Indian leader, Mahatma Ghandi, that King based his pursuit for freedom.

King had a dream, a dream that "one day this nation would rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed," a dream that people of their character," a dream that is a reality today, a dream that was made a reality through the non-violent principles King so deeply believed in.

In order to build a peaceful world today, we need to follow in the peaceful footsteps made by Dr. King. I wonder how many others besides myself have this dream. But no matter the number, there is only one way for this dream to become a reality, and that is through peace and non-violence.

## EPILOGUE

(By Iramane Desrosiers, Prospect Heights H.S., District 17)

On April 4, 1968, as Dr. King leaned from the balcony of his motel in Memphis, Tennessee, across the street James Earl Ray fired a shot that killed Dr. King. The man is dead, but the dream lives on.

Thank you Dr. King.

In 1863, President Lincoln signed the Emancipation Proclamation freeing the slaves in the states, but the Thirteenth Amendment actually ended slavery in the

United States. In other parts of the world, people in slavery were still fighting for their freedom.

One hundred years later, Blacks in the United States still were not free. They were still "chained" to many endured injustices. It took a man with devotion, courage and love to show white people that freedom was given to every American. The minds of Black people should no longer be enslaved under this prejudices of whites. Everyone should have the same rights and should acquire their citizenship to the fullest. The man who believed in such ideas was Dr. Martin Luther King, a black man.

He wanted all Americans to have the same rights. He believed that if everyone had the same rights, there would not be superior and inferior classes in the United States. Prejudices and pressure between Whites and Blacks would not exist. There would be justice and every American would be satisfied and happy.

I believe that if people lived by the "laws of the lands," and saw to it that equality was not something we had to dream of, there would not be any strikes against government rules. Justice would be the center of everyone's life. And if we accepted the concept of equality, the right to live, to vote and voice our opinions, people would respect each other more.

Dr. King guided his people into protest in an imaginative and unprecedented manner to stimulate powerful federal legislation. He used non-violent actions to gain justice and respect for Blacks as Ghandi did to free his country from British colonization. Dr. King pointed out, during a meeting, that the choice was no longer between violence and more violence. It's either non-violence or non-existence. He used non-violence as a way of perfecting social change in a world of brutality and war.

I believed that we can resolve our problems without using violence and injustice by being fair and responsible for our actions. We will not survive with all of our differences, languages, customs and points of view if we think that violence is the solution. I think that people must avoid violence, murders and brutality. Nuclear bombs, weapons and pollution should also be banished because there will be no use for such things on earth if we follow his teachings. There won't be any need for violent and aggressive television shows because everyone will want to keep violence out of their minds, and live in a quiet and peaceful world.

Unity was also something Dr. King envisioned. He guided his people to be united be-

cause he knew that "unity created strength." Every Black at the meetings shared a communion of spirit. Everyone agreed to others' suggestions because each of them knew that they had the same hopes and were in the same predicament. They stayed united to fight for what they believed was right.

However, unity is a word that is losing its power in our world. People think that they can, by themselves, arrive at a solution to solve our problems. We mustn't forget that "unity creates strength," and we all want that strength to put an end to governmental conflicts.

If something happens to our planet, it will affect all of us and nobody will be able to blame the other because we could have avoided the disaster if we only had given up our differences and had done what we thought was best for all human beings. The two things that Dr. King insisted upon was that everyone love their enemies and for everything to be disciplined. Justice cannot be right if there is no discipline. People cannot be united if there is no love for all mankind. Dr. King said that no matter what the whites had done to Black people, they should not be treated violently.

There will be many changes that we haven't seen before. A time when everyone will start to care for others and forgetting our problems. We will try to relieve others of their pains, fears, illnesses, fatigue, suffering and hate. Everyone will try to make life better for others. People will live in harmony. God compassionately will do the rest of the work for us as he will know that there is a change in our heart. We will conduct our struggle "on a high plane of dignity and discipline." We will never drink from the cup of hatred and bitterness.

All of our problems and conflicts won't be anymore. People will live happily and will have longer life spans. Respect, love, truth, discipline, unity and non-violence will be the new laws on earth. All of this we can have if we follow the examples that Dr. King gave to us during the protest against segregation aimed to Blacks in America.

He was right. The situation between Blacks and Whites has been improving. White and Black children are now going to the same schools. There are fewer segregated seats in churches, and also there is less injustice. His rules might be difficult to follow, but if we believe that it is the only way to reach the top of the temple of peace, then it will not be difficult. Love, justice and truth always wins.